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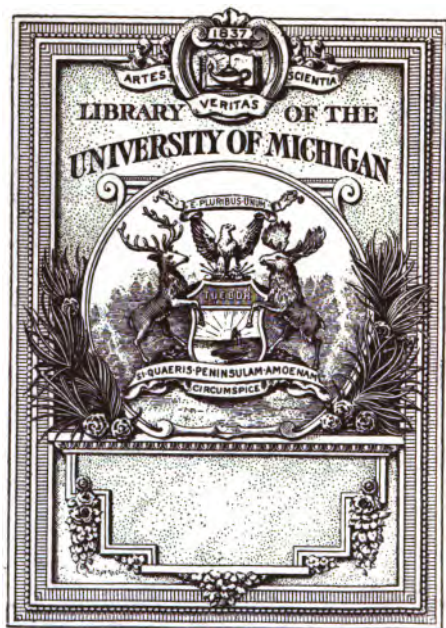
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LITTLE BOOKS ON ART

RAPHAEL

A. R. DRYHURST



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**GENERAL EDITOR : CYRIL DAVENPORT**

**RAPHAEL**

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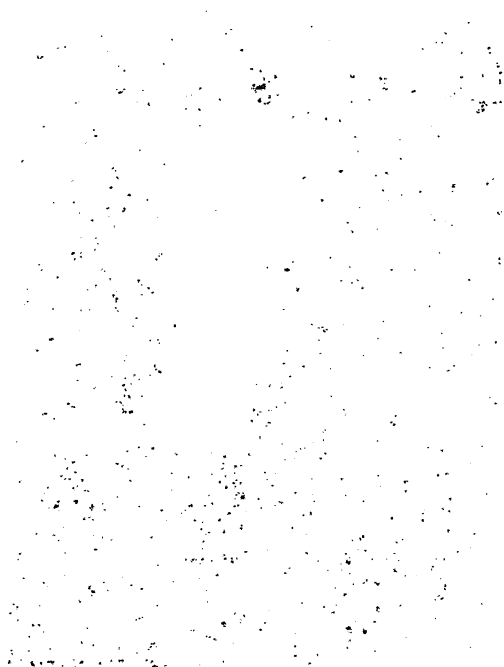




*Raphael*

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# RAPHAEL

BY

A. R. DRYHURST

WITH FORTY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.  
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.  
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# RAPHAEL

## CHAPTER I

### PARENTAGE AND EARLY DAYS

Umbria—Religious influences in Umbrian art—Urbino, its rulers and their artistic circle—Origin of the Santi family—Giovanni Santi's literary and artistic position in Urbino—Birth of Raphael—Death of Giovanni Santi—Raphael's youth and early instruction—The "Knight's Dream"—The small "St. Michael"—The "Three Graces"—Raphael under Perugino—The "Crucifixion"—The "Coronation of the Virgin"—"Madonna Conestabile," and other works—The "Sposalizio"—The little "St. George."

**W**ITHIN a sweep of twenty miles or so round Perugia the observer has within his ken a girdle of mountains finely contoured, which frame a sky now tenderly blue, now flushed with delicate red, now blazoned with variously tinted masses of cloud. The lower slopes of the hills sink into green valleys and meadowland, where the grey olives grow luxuriantly and the fruitful vine is often seen

mated with the barren elm. Near groups of poplars can be caught the glint of light from the surface of stream or mill-dam, while along the white roads here and there move slowly yoked pairs of patient oxen, descendants, perhaps, of Virgil's white steers of Clitumnus. That city on a hill, which cannot be hid, and is glowing in the sunset with opalescent light, is Assisi. Far away in another direction lies Siena, dedicate to the Virgin; and nearer, just veiled by hills, the Lake of Trasimene, of which the thought seems often to form the background of Umbrian pictures. Over there, far to the north-east, Monte Catria towers to a height of more than 5,000 feet, lording it over the peaks that neighbour Urbino, and memorable as the spot where Dante sojourned for some while in the course of his star-crossed earthly pilgrimage. Spoleto, Todi, Trevi cluster on the tops of lower hills. And towards the south the charm of flowing waters leads the eye to the course of the Paglia, which, near the ancient papal stronghold of Orvieto, meets the Tiber, a word of might that carries the mind to the distant plain where the dome of St. Peter's broods on high over the city of the seven hills.

How restful and how fair this mingled scene

of sky, plain, river, mountain, and mountain cities! Gazing on it, it is easy to yield oneself to an emotional illusion, and to imagine that the hearts of the men that dwelt here must have been subdued to an accordant mildness, attuned to its peaceful story of varying hues, lights, and shadows. Certainly a land of such soft beauty was well fitted to be the home of St. Francis, apostle of tenderness, proclaimer of the sweet influences of nature, the light of heaven, the music of the birds, and watcher of the ways of four-footed things. And fitting too it was that the gentle energies of art, in times ere any form of popular literature had grown current, should, in the monastery-church of Assisi, find inspiring subject-matter, and that pilgrims should go thither from afar bringing with them gold more than frankincense and myrrh, gold which the saint would have rejected, but of which much must have been needed to remunerate the artists that were employed to adorn the chief seat of his labours. The influence exercised by the art of Cimabue and Giotto and their successors on the Umbrian nature, proverbially susceptible to tender appeals,<sup>1</sup> was an abiding one. The interval is

<sup>1</sup> "Qualche muove la Romana all' ira muove la Peruginese al pianto."



considerable from the period of the Giottesques to that of the Umbrian school. Yet in the art of Bonfigli, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and the dreamy devotionism of Perugino's works is to be found a late blossoming of the "little flowers of St. Francis."

But while this characteristic is impressed on the style of Perugino, it should be borne in mind that Umbrian artists had also other tendencies. A glance at the frescoes in the chapel of S. Brizio makes this evident. In the hands of Signorelli Umbrian art departs from its former standards. But, though his mingled fire and virtuosity were so remarkable, he was outsoared by Michelangelo, a Tuscan of kindred but ampler pinion, whose various achievement has left his work in the shade. Signorelli, and artists imbued, like him, with the spirit of research and technical mastery, such as Melozzo da Forlì and Piero della Francesca, worked part of their time at Urbino, to the east of the Umbrian Apennines, when this small mountain city was the capital of the State ruled by Federigo, the most eminent of the Montefeltro family. This prince, a successful condottiere, received large stipends from Italian powers, which enabled him to gratify his taste for art and for sumptuous building without imposing

grievous taxes on his subjects. On his library of manuscripts, bound in crimson and silver, he could afford to spend 30,000 gold ducats; and who shall say what his famous palace cost to build? Pictures by Van Eyck he had; and his taste for the Flemish school led him to invite Justus of Ghent to Urbino. Paolo Uccello, the Florentine artist, also resorted for a time to a court where he found a patron liberal in mind and purse. A lesser light than these was Giovanni Santi, a zealous retainer of the Montefeltrian house. Giovanni was a member of the family of Santi, or Sante, who were originally settled at the hill-village of Colbordolo, and had betaken themselves to Urbino, about 1450, to escape the repetition of the sufferings brought upon them in the course of a campaign in which Sigismondo Malatesta was worsted by the forces of Montefeltro and Francesco Sforza. In Urbino these humble folk prospered as retail dealers, and one of them, Giovanni Santi, there gained his modest livelihood partly as a tradesman, partly as an artist, not to say an artisan. For, like other "old masters" of his day, Giovanni was willing to design an escutcheon, or a festal banner, and to handle the brush of a house-painter, as well as to work at a fresco, or a panel-picture.

What further distinguished him was his being the author of a rhyming chronicle,<sup>1</sup> consisting of nearly 23,000 verses, not without poetical episodes and "finely expressed moral reflections," the object of which was to record the life and achievements of Federigo, the ruler of the mountain duchy of Urbino. From some particulars quoted in Schmarsow's essay on the father of Raphael it may be supposed that Giovanni's house was resorted to by local talent seeking the aid, or criticism, of an artist who was so highly thought of as to have been commissioned, on the occasion of a ducal marriage at Urbino, to produce a festal pageant. Besides being an attempt at writing history, Santi's Chronicle claims notice as furnishing an early instance of art criticism. From it an idea can be formed of the estimation in which prominent Italian artists of this period were held. As might be supposed from Santi's own pictures, he singles out Mantegna as easily chief in the art world of the fifteenth century. Melozzo da Forlì he mentions in terms of affection, and he appears to have had personal knowledge of Verrocchio, obtained, perhaps, by visiting Florence, the Mecca of Italian art.

<sup>1</sup> No. 1305 in the Ottobuoni MSS. of the Vatican Library.

## BIRTH OF RAPHAEL 7

Of Leonardo and his Umbrian contemporary he speaks in lines which have been quoted more than once as

“Due giovin par d' etate e par d' amore,  
Leonardo da Vinci e 'l Perusino  
Pier della Pieve, ch' è un divin picture.”

His merits as a painter are not such as to challenge attention. His colouring is somewhat grey and cold, and his outlines are frequently hard. There is an Annunciation by him in the Brera, and he also executed a picture of St. Sebastian and one of the Madonna. But superior to these was his work in the Tiranni chapel of the Dominican church at Cagli, a head in which has been thought to represent the features of the young Raphael.

This “prince of painters” first saw the light on the 6th of April,<sup>1</sup> 1483, in Giovanni's house in the Contrada del Monte, now 278 in the Contrada del Raffaello, and, since 1873, rendered safe from the vicissitudes of house-property. The boy's mother was Magia Ciarla, who brought with her a dowry of 150 florins. He was not, as was his great rival, Michelangelo, put out to nurse, for Giovanni shrank, perhaps, from exposing a delicate child to the

<sup>1</sup> His birthday is also given as 28th March.

influences of life in a peasant's hut. Of his early years little is known. He had a brother and a sister, who both died young. In the house in the Contrada del Raffaello is a much-restored and uninspired picture by Giovanni Santi of a woman with a child in her lap, which is thought to be a portrait of Magia Ciarla. When she died in 1491, shortly after the death of Giovanni's mother, it is possible he felt that his boy and his lonely house would be the better for a woman's presence, for in the May of the following year he took to wife Bernardina Parte, a goldsmith's daughter, who brought with her a dowry of 200 florins. This second union did not last long. Giovanni Santi died in August, 1494, probably of a fever easily contracted by a mountain-dweller in the low-lying region of Mantua, whither he had gone to paint portraits of relatives of Elisabetta, Duchess of Urbino. Thus this painstaking poet and painter passed away without realising his ambition to rise in the social scale. For it has been said that even secondary fourteenth-century painters were desirous to escape from their somewhat anomalous position of manual craftsmen. In this respect Gentile Bellini, Crivelli, and Sodoma, for instance, succeeded, being advanced to the rank of knight, a dignity

which was also conferred on the haughty Mantegna.

Raphael was but eleven years of age when his father died, and could therefore have had little share in the litigation between his father's brother, the priest Don Bartolommeo, and his stepmother concerning the payment of the allowance for maintenance of the girl born after the death of Giovanni. Indeed, from the tone of the painter's letters in later years, it would seem that it was his mother's brother, Simone Ciarla, that stood to the boy *in loco parentis*. Who it was that first led his steps up the steep path of art is not known with certainty, but closer study of his early style has confirmed the conjecture of the late Senatore Morelli, the Darwin of art criticism, that it is to the teaching of Timoteo Viti, or della Vite, regard should be had in seeking the source of the early characteristics of Raphael's work. Viti, a favourite pupil of Francia, the Bolognese master, returned to Urbino in 1495, and was doubtless willing to have in his "bottega" a promising boy. It is also permissible to suppose that the young son of Giovanni Santi was in a position to learn something from observation of the pictures and decoration in the palace of Guidobaldo and his Duchess. He had more-

over the book of nature to study. Who can doubt that his keen eye failed not to note the beauties of the countryside round Urbino, the flowers, the meadows, and the chestnut woods, and, above all, the skyey influences of Umbria, and that he liked to seek the upland lawns among the hills ere the savage Borgia came to fright the peaceful duchy?

In the "Knight's Dream," acquired by the National Gallery in 1847, the influence of Viti may account for the broad hands and feet, and the oval faces, characteristics found in the works of Francia and Costa. This small picture, under which hangs a pen-and-ink drawing for it, also from Raphael's hand, has been thought to represent St. George, or else the classic fable of the "Choice of Hercules." But there are no signs of sainthood, or of the club and lion's skin of the ancient hero, adjuncts which a painter of Raphael's period would have been unlikely to omit. Rather, as M. Gruyer long since suggested, the picture seems to be a piece of simple allegory, comparable with such a work as Perugino's "Combat of Love and Chastity." A parallel worth noting has been pointed out by M. R. de Maulde la Clavière in one of the woodcuts illustrating Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools*. This widely



THE KNIGHT'S DREAM  
*National Gallery*





popular book appeared in 1494, and the plate in question, showing a sleeping knight and two female figures, is described in the text as the "Contest of Virtue and Pleasure."<sup>1</sup> There are much *naïveté* and charm in this youthful work, of which it was well said by Quatremère de Quincy that, like a rosebud, it foretells the approaching summer. There is a touch of almost feminine refinement in it which recalls Vasari's remark that Raphael was much inclined to seek women's society. Already, perhaps, the youth profited from some companionship with the cultivated ladies of whom the Duchess Elisabetta was the centre.

As is the case with the wings of the angels in a picture by Viti at Milan, gold is used in the wings of the archangel shown in Raphael's small "St. Michael" of the Louvre. In the background the young artist has placed monsters, tortured denizens of the "*città che a nome Dite*," subjects taken from the *Inferno*, and little congenial to the painter's temperament, but which were, perhaps, impressed on his mind as a boy by his father's having made familiar the sad journey of Dante and his guide.

A third small picture, which was removed from Urbino at the same time as the two

<sup>1</sup> *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, January, 1897.

pictures just mentioned, was the "Three Graces" of the Condé Museum, Chantilly, for which the Duc d'Aumale purchased it from Lord Dudley in 1885 for no less than £25,000. Much has been written as to the relation between this picture and an ancient marble group in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, copied in a drawing attributed by Morelli to Pinturicchio. If Raphael translated this drawing into his picture, it was indeed *changé en route*, for the three figures he gives are of the Ferrarese type, and cousins-german to the sober-minded ladies of the "Knight's Dream." But it is not certain that the painter ever visited Siena. His alleged co-operation there with Pinturicchio was dismissed by Morelli as an invention of municipal vanity.<sup>1</sup> The stiffly posed figures in Raphael's picture hold in their hands not apples but spheres of gold, which, in the opinion of M. de la Sizeranne, are meant to typify woman's rule over the world, an idea that might well have passed current in the Palace of Urbino, where the martial roughness of mediæval manners, as in other parts of Italy, had given way to a perhaps superficial refinement.

<sup>1</sup> Minghetti, *Raffaello*, p. 43. See also Dr. Aug. Schmarsow's dissertation on the frescoes of the Libreria.

About the close of the year 1499 it is probable that Raphael found himself working in the *Vià Deliziosa* of Perugia, where Pietro Vannucci, better known as Perugino, had lately settled, along with his idolised young wife, Chiara Fancelli, whose semblance is perhaps to be seen in Perugino's picture known as the "Madonna of Pavia." As one of the assistants of this master, who was a man of business in his profession, and much disposed to turn to account the great vogue his pictures had in the Umbrian region, Raphael soon learned to modify his style. So apt a pupil was he that it is possible Perugino treated him as an understudy and allowed the apprentice's work to pass as his own. The difficulty of deciding the authorship of the productions of this school and period is exemplified in the "Apollo and Marsyas," a small picture sold to the Louvre by Mr. Morris Moore for £8,000, which is nowadays attributed vaguely to the Umbrian school, but which Mr. Moore exhausted himself in efforts to get acknowledged as a Raphael. Fellow-workers in the shop of Perugino were Lo Spagna, Ingegno, and Alfani. Possibly, too, at this time he received some instruction from one more skilled than they, viz. Pinturicchio.

A work which Raphael painted about 1501 for the Gavari family chapel in the church of Città di Castello is specially noticed by Vasari for its assimilation of the characteristics of Perugino's art. This is the "Crucifixion" which in 1892 passed for £11,130 from the Dudley collection into that of Mr. Ludwig Mond. It has much suggestion of the central group in the fresco in the Pazzi Chapel of Florence. The sharp chins, pursed mouths, the trees, and extremely symmetrical angels are Umbrian features easily recognised. The Christ is the most satisfactory part of the figure-drawing, which betrays some effort and inexperience.

A picture of more interest that belongs to this stage of the painter's career is the "Coronation of the Virgin," which hangs in the Vatican near Pinturicchio's on the same theme. Of this work the upper part seems to have been borrowed by Raphael from Perugino's beautiful "Assumption" of Vallombrosa. The lower part shows the apostles ranged in an undramatic manner round the empty tomb, in which the lilies and roses are springing to life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Quivi è la Rosa in che 'l Verbo Divino  
Carne si fece: quivi son li gigli  
Al cui odor si prese 'l buon cammino."

*Par.*, c. xxiii.



THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN  
*Vatican Gallery*



Of the extant studies for this work, one in the Wicar collection at Lille indicates that the artist employed two youths in close-fitting garb as models for the principal group. There is something almost virginal in the figures of the lads, who, likely enough, were chosen from apprentices in the "bottega"; the delicacy of Umbrian sentiment would have shrunk from the thought of girls' being placed in a situation that might offend their modesty. Also in the Vatican is the predella to the "Coronation." Of the three subjects given in it, the "Annunciation" is noteworthy as a study in perspective and classical architectural detail. The springing gait of the angel advancing to the Virgin seems allied to the swiftness of motion rendered by the Iris of the Parthenon marbles. In spite of the want of unity in the "Coronation," it cannot but win commendation for its grace and sincerity of feeling. It was the result of a commission given by the widowed lady, Maddalena degli Oddi, a member of one of the ruling families of Perugia,<sup>1</sup> and for many years it passed as a work by Perugino. When the latter left Perugia for Florence in 1502 it

<sup>1</sup> It has also been stated that the "Coronation" was painted for Leandra, widow of Simone degli Oddi. See Minghetti, *op. cit.*, p. 36.



is possible that Raphael came more in contact with Pinturicchio, whose large share, claimed for him by Morelli, in the Venice album so long ascribed to Raphael, is now more than a twice-told tale. Of this practised painter's designs Raphael readily availed himself. Their influence is marked in the two Madonnas of the Berlin Gallery, which were part of the Solly Collection purchased by the Prussian Government in 1821. Here falls also to be mentioned a Virgin and Child executed for Alfano di Diamante, uncle of a fellow-worker of the painter's, a small "tondo," notable for an addition to the usual Umbrian background in the form of distant hills capped with snow, a piece of definite landscape work which the painter hardly repeats. An interesting preliminary drawing in the Albertina shows the Christ Child fingering a pomegranate instead of the prayer-book of the painting. This last is now in the Hermitage, having been sold in 1871 by the Conestabile-Staffa family of Perugia for £13,200 to the then Empress of Russia.

Other works of this period were the "Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino," which was purchased in 1789 by Pope Pius VI., but disappeared during the French invasions of Italy ;





HEAD OF AN ANGEL IN "THE CORONATION"

*Drawing in the British Museum*



HEAD OF AN APOSTLE IN "THE CORONATION"  
*Drawing in the British Museum*



a small picture in the Brescia Gallery of the risen Saviour; and a dreamy head of St. Sebastian, precisely but delicately rendered, in the Lochis collection at Bergamo. Raphael's hand, too, is now admitted in the Borghese portrait of a prosperous burgher, formerly ascribed to Holbein. The features in this portrait, which are delineated with power and assurance, have some resemblance to those of Perugino, as seen in the hall of the Cambio of Perugia. Pinturicchio is also named as the subject of this portrait.

While Raphael stayed in Città di Castello, a town in the upper valley of the Tiber, he painted for the church of San Francesco the most widely known of his pre-Florentine works, the "Sposalizio," or "Marriage of the Virgin," which now adorns the Brera in Milan. What haunter of picture-galleries could forget his introduction to this delightful work, of which the mellow tone seems distilled from the atmosphere of a calm sunny day among the Umbrian hills, and which might have been inspired by an illumination in some dainty, ivory-tinted manuscript; its symmetrically disposed groups of men and girls having the charm of an old-world *naïveté*, of a formalism not yet grown insipid. From the temple in the background, which

bears the date 1504, and the general effect, the picture has been classified as Peruginesque, but closer scrutiny reveals the lighter carnation and the form of hand more proper to Timoteo Viti. Moreover, the shape of the picture and details in it seem due to Ferrarese influences. It used to be customary to resort to Perugino's "Sposalizio" at Caen for the model Raphael worked to, but Mr. Berenson's close analysis of the Caen picture has made such a comparison irrelevant.<sup>1</sup> Owing to the "surpassing dignity" of the Virgin, it was frequent for her to be shown on the right of such a composition as the "Sposalizio." But this position of the actors is reversed by Raphael, who, moreover, represents the ring as being placed on a finger of her right hand. But on this hand the ring is found also in Ghirlandaio's fresco in Sta. Croce and in other works by the old masters.<sup>2</sup> The Virgin's ring, it may be added, was jealously preserved in the cathedral of Perugia by the Brotherhood of St. Joseph.

After the completion of the "Sposalizio"

<sup>1</sup> See his article in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1896, since republished.

<sup>2</sup> On this minor antiquarian point something is to be found in W. Jones' *Finger Ring Lore*, p. 291.



THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN  
*Breva, Milan*

OF  
 THE  
 MARRIAGE





Raphael returned for a time to his native place, where he found the Duke and Duchess reinstated through the retirement from Urbino of the hated Cæsar Borgia, and rejoicing in the restoration of the goods and chattels, to the value of 150,000 ducats, which had fallen a prey to Borgian rapacity. Connected, perhaps, with the reverse of fortune that had overtaken the ruthless lord of the Romagna through the sudden death of Pope Alexander VI. is the subject of the little "St. George" of the Louvre, painted at this time for the Duchess Elisabetta. The Borgian dragon being quelled, such a picture might be a pleasant reminder of the hour when it had ruled unchecked. Why is the horse painted white? Did the Duchess choose the colour as emblematical of purity? Or did the painter remember the day when the beautiful young Baglione, on his white steed, rode as an avenger of blood through the Piazza of Perugia in pursuit of the foes that had butchered their kin and his? Much must be allowed for the influence over the sensitive mind of the young painter of the accomplished lady whom the celebrated Castiglione loved so devotedly—on this side of honesty—and whose portrait by Raphael he is said to have treasured

to the last. At this time, while in Urbino, Raphael may have renewed his practice of the style of Viti. Between a study of a woman by the latter, and a drawing of a girl by Raphael, formerly called his sister, both in the British Museum, there is a close affinity. Moreover, in the pictures painted by Raphael for some time after this stay in Urbino the Peruginesque characteristics are less pronounced.





PORTRAIT STUDY BY TIMOTEO VITI  
*British Museum*



PORTRAIT STUDY  
*British Museum*



## CHAPTER II

### FLORENTINE EXPERIENCE

Raphael in Florence—Prominent artists there—Raphael a student of the work of Masaccio—Portraits of Angelo Doni and his wife and of a lady unknown—"Madonna del Granduca" and other Madonnas—Return to Perugia—Two altar-pieces commissioned there—Fresco in S. Severo—His visit to Urbino—Paints another "St. George"—Portraits of himself and others—In Florence again—"Madonna of the Goldfinch"—"Madonna in the Meadow"—"Belle Jardinière" and other Madonnas—"St. Catharine of Alexandria"—Borghese "Entombment"—Bridgewater and other Madonnas—Raphael's journeys—His letter to Simone Ciarla.

**I**N the year of Raphael's arrival in Florence a galaxy of artists was congregated there, as appears from the history of the proceedings for placing Michelangelo's statue of David, one of the glories of the Renaissance, which stood more than three centuries near the entrance of the Signoria. There was also at this time a special stir in the artistic atmosphere caused by the vigorous rivalry between Leonardo and Michelangelo, which issued at length in the pro-



duction of the famous cartoons, the "Fight for the Standard" at Anghiari and the "Surprise at Cascina," works which Benvenuto Cellini declared were the world's school of draughtsmanship, but the fate of which, strange to say, has missed being recorded.<sup>1</sup> With these binary stars of the artistic firmament it is unlikely that the youth from Urbino came much in contact. But, as the eye was said to know light by the light that is in it, he was sensitive to the message such works as theirs conveyed. Before them, says Vasari, he stood dumb with amazement and admiration until he felt stirred by them to a renewal of study and ardent emulousness, which brought forth fruit in due season. He was sleepless as Themistocles at the thought of Miltiades' trophy; and by night or day he knew no rest in his striving to attain to something of the fire and grace of Leonardo, the anatomical mastery of Michelangelo.

In the house of the architect Baccio d'Agnolo his pleasant disposition made him many acquaintances, such as Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Antonio and Giuliano da Sangallo, Andrea

<sup>1</sup> According to Minghetti, fragments of Michelangelo's cartoon of the Surprised Soldiers were to be found in 1575 in the Strozzi mansion at Mantua. Rubens copied from Leonardo's cartoon, and his copy was engraved by Edelinck. The rest is silence.





HERCULES AND CENTAURS  
*Drawing in the Uffizi*



THE DREI KAMPFENDE  
*Drawing in the Albertina, Vienna*



Sansovino, Il Cronaca, and others, who used to meet together on Sundays to discuss the many points that arose in the course of professional work. Not only did he learn eagerly from his contemporaries in that city of Florence, which bred and encouraged—and flung aside—many masters of the brush and chisel, but from her monuments, her statuary and frescoes, his trained eye and receptive mind derived a rich store of impressions and fresh ideas. In the main, Florence had the same aspect at the beginning of the sixteenth as she had in the early part of the nineteenth century. Her mansions, fortress-like in their solidity, Giotto's campanile, Brunellesco's dome, the Signoria, the Loggia dei Lanzi, the gates of the Baptistery, the sculptures of Donatello, were then, as now, the architectural features that have made the city for many ages famous. It is easy to guess how they must have deeply impressed the mind of one that had passed his days in remote mountain towns. And had he come to Florence some years earlier he might have studied the treasures of antiquity preserved and accessible in the "Casino" of the Medici family until a day when a wave of popular fury swept through the palace and scattered its contents. But what moved the artist more than all were

the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, left there sixty years before by the genius of Masaccio, that is to say "Big Tom," or "Tom the Dreamer," as industrious neighbours styled him, whose work counted for so much in the history of Tuscan art. The eager spirit of Raphael owned the excellence of it, and gave it renewed life in his own later days.

In the pictures Raphael painted of Angelo Doni and his wife, Maddalena Strozzi, appears some direct trace of the influence of the arch-wizard Leonardo, though this is shown more clearly in drawings, one of them in the Academy of Venice, another a pen-and-ink study in the Louvre, which, in its large dreamy eyes and something approaching passion in the lines of the mouth, seems inspired by Leonardo's "La Gioconda." Similar in style and attitude to the portrait of Maddalena Doni is that of a "Lady Unknown" in the Uffizi, whose countenance and hands are those of a woman of more refinement and distinction.

As he became accustomed to move in the larger orbit of his Florentine contemporaries, he dropped the Umbrian manner in which he had been trained at Perugia. There is little of the Peruginesque in the plump features, framed in the fair hair that escapes from the head-dress,







PORTRAIT STUDY  
*Pen-drawing in the Louvre*



MADDALENA STROZZI-ROSSI  
*Palazzo Pitti, Florence*



## MADONNA DEL GRANDUCA 25

of the celebrated "Madonna del Granduca." Though her eyes droop modestly, she stands with a certain aplomb. The circlets of divinity which the painter has left round her head and that of the Christ Child hardly efface the impression that this Madonna is humanly proud of her motherhood. The history of the picture is obscure. In the eighteenth century it belonged to a poor widow, along with paintings by Carlo Dolci, and by her was sold for twelve scudi. Puccini was instrumental in its acquisition by the reigning family of Tuscany. The Grand Duke Ferdinand III. was much attached to it, and carried it with him when he fled before the eagles of Napoleon. In Passavant's time it was venerated as a wonder-working image. To the urgency of her prayers before it the Archduchess attributed the birth of an heir after she had passed through a long period of childlessness. Akin to the "Madonna del Granduca" are the "Madonna di casa Tempi" in Munich, and the "Madonna of the House of Orleans," which was purchased in 1869 for Chantilly for 150,000 francs. In this latter are to be seen objects belonging to humble domesticity which are not seen in other works by Raphael, and which, it has been surmised, are later additions by a Flemish

hand. Of the Madonna of Lord Cowper at Panshanger, Morelli speaks as "perhaps the most admirable of all Raphael's Madonnas." A companion picture to be found there is the "Madonna Nicolini." Waagen in his day visited Panshanger to inspect these two works, and spent there six hours of peaceful study, distracted only by the scent of the flowers and the murmur of their winged visitants. Further variations of the simple theme of mother and babe, which in Raphael's hands was so productive, are the "Colonna" and "Terranuova" Madonnas of the Berlin Museum; the last being a "tondo," which has been compared with the "Doni Madonna" of Michelangelo.

✓ In these Florentine Madonnas of 1505-6 Raphael has begun a new chapter in the history of his art. He shows himself in them by his unaffected simplicity and directness of treatment as masterly as Giovanni Bellini, and can dispense with the "fineries" and "unlikelyhoods" so dear to Ruskin, with the presence of attendant angels, jewelled robes, and the official pomp of earthly majesty. It is the young mother which he chooses to portray, a firm-fleshed, amiable creature, far removed from the wan Virgin of Botticelli, who delights not in her offspring, and seems to shrink from



MADONNA DEL GRAN DUCA  
*Pitti*



the burden of an "intolerable honour." Unless that grave, rapt face belonged to a *piagnone* that pondered in her heart what sorrows would come when the justice of heaven should make good the words of the Dominican prophet. The "Granduca" and her sisters do not so appeal to the intellectual curiosity of the observer. They live by "admiration, hope, and love," hardly touching the springs of tears for the immensity of the grief borne by the Mater Dolorosa of the mediæval hymn. And yet another note of earlier religious art is almost missing in Raphael's. For the men of the Middle Ages were not satisfied with pictures that gave them merely beauty of form and colour—they demanded that a picture should also be symbolical, that the manner of the composition, its tones and accessories, should not be left to the painter's sense of fitness and harmony, but should be chosen in subordination to some traditional scheme, so that those conversant might perceive that a heavenly meaning had been grafted on the product of the artist's labour. This theological phase Raphael had passed beyond. His Madonna was not treated as a mere link in the chain of Redemption, a vehicle chosen for the miraculous participation of the Godhead in the life of man. She was



rather conceived as co-operating with the Son in His mission. Having assumed the vesture of humanity, the Madonna of Raphael forgets her heavenly state, finding full compensation, however, in association with the types of infantile joy and innocence it was the artist's privilege to note and portray. Yet in one respect the influence of Raphael's Umbrian training remained with him. He does not represent the Virgin, as did other painters, in the act of suckling the divine Child, doubtless avoiding it as something so carnal as to detract from the claims to human reverence of the Mother of God.

During a visit he made at this time to Perugia he employed himself on two large works representing what is technically known as the *santa conversazione*. In the familiar streets of the Umbrian hill-city he felt himself, perhaps, once again a scholar of Perugino, for these two altarpieces show a reversion in some respects to his pre-Florentine style. The explanation is probably that Perugian patrons were more old-fashioned in their tastes than those of busy Florence, and that Raphael's easy temper acquiesced in the limitations they imposed. One of the works in question was the "Madonna degli Ansidei," which the Trustees of



MADONNA ANSIDEI  
*National Gallery*



the National Gallery bought from the Duke of Marlborough in 1885 for £70,000, at that time an extraordinary price, working out at about £14 the square inch. The devotional intention of the picture is emphasised by the words "SALVE MATER CHRISTI" inscribed on the Virgin's canopied throne, behind which is a silvery light coming from a distant background of sky and hills. Her attention is divided between the missal in which the Christ Child would look at the picture and the reading in which St. Nicholas of Bari is engaged. The face of the latter is a thoughtful and interesting piece of work. Near his feet the artist has placed three balls, which are said to represent the purses of gold wherewith the saint dowered the daughters of a poor man. St. John, who has a crystal cross, stands with his legs ungracefully posed in a manner resembling those of St. Joseph in the Sposalizio. The figures are two-thirds of life-size. As a whole the work is somewhat formal and cold in tone, but it has a pleasing uniformity about it, due to its having been painted throughout by the same hand. It has further been exceptionally well preserved since the date of execution, which is read variously as 1505, 1506, or 1507. Relating to

it there is a fine pen-and-ink drawing in the Städel Institute of Frankfort.

To this period belongs also the "Madonna di Sant' Antonio," a *santa conversazione* of seven figures commissioned by the nuns of the convent in Perugia of St. Antony of Padua. This picture has suffered vicissitudes, which began in 1663 with the sale of the predella for 600 scudi to Christina of Sweden, too numerous to detail. It was at one time offered to the Louvre for a million francs, but the negotiation came to naught through the outbreak of the Franco-German War. Hence the epithet the "Madone d'un Million," which might now be changed to the "Madone d'un Millionnaire," since it has been bought in recent years for an enormous sum by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. It hangs at present, not for the first time, in the National Gallery. The picture does not to-day excite the admiration of which it was the centre thirty years ago. A French critic, writing in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* in 1869, found the *idée mère* of the composition in a picture executed by Bernardino of Perugia in 1498 for the nuns of S. Francesco, though this is disputed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. What is less open to gainsaying is that the work shows signs of the influence of Fra Bar-



STUDIES OF MADONNA AND CHILD  
*Pen-drawing in the British Museum*



tolommeo, on which account Morelli was disposed to date its completion as late as 1507 or 1508. The predella of it is dispersed among four English collections.

The influence of the great Dominican painter, who was on special terms of intimacy with Raphael, is still more marked in the latter's first fresco, executed for the Lady Chapel of the Convent of the Order of Camaldoli, now a college, in Perugia. The upper part of the fresco, which Raphael did not finish, has all but gone, and the lower part has been painted over. What remains shows its relation to the style of Fra Bartolommeo's "Last Judgment" in Florence and to the plan of the upper part of the "Disputa" in the Vatican. An idea of the promising quality of the work is furnished by a study in the Oxford University Galleries for one of the saints. The completing figures on the lower part were added after Raphael's death by the aged hand of Perugino. Another picture Raphael undertook at this time, and likewise left unfinished, was a "Coronation of the Virgin," required as an altar-piece for the chapel of the nuns of Monte Luce, near Perugia. As earnest-money their agent paid the painter, now locally eminent, thirty gold ducats. Nevertheless the picture was not finished, and they



had to rest content when, twelve years later, the master's scholars, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni, took up the task he had laid aside.

At some time in 1506 Raphael painted another "St. George." In this the hero of the Church Militant, who bestrides a white steed, is represented as having plunged his spear into the dragon, while on the right the captive princess kneels in prayer. The saint wears the riband of the Garter, with the word "Honi" shown on his knee. This small but vigorous picture is thought to be connected with the fact that the Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino received the insignia of the Garter in 1504, when Henry VII. sent envoys to congratulate Julius II. on his accession to the Holy See. Castiglione came to England in 1506 as ducal representative. With the horses and other presents he perhaps brought with him a "St. George," mentioned in an inventory of 1542 of pictures belonging to Henry VIII. The particulars of this picture, however, suggest that Guidobaldo sent to Henry VII. the one of 1504, now in the Louvre. In the *Archæologia*, volume xlix., it is stated that Charles I., in order to obtain Raphael's "St. George," gave to his Lord Chamberlain in



STUDY FOR ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON (THE HERMITAGE)

*Uffizi, Florence*



exchange for it a volume of drawings by Holbein. After the King's execution Cardinal Mazarin bought it for £1,500. From his collection it passed into the Louvre. How Raphael's later "St. George" found its way into the Hermitage collection is not fully known. For it Raphael seems to have taken some suggestions from the ornaments of the marble bas-relief on the base of Donatello's "St. George," in the oratory of Or San Michele.<sup>1</sup>

Raphael was perhaps in Urbino when he was working at this picture. During his residence in Florence he went to his native place more than once. While on these visits it is possible that he painted portraits, to which his name is attached, of Guidobaldo and Castiglione, and made a chalk drawing of Cardinal Bembo. Another work he might have done at this time was the three-quarter-face portrait of himself, which in former days so many visitors to the Uffizi gazed at in the first raptures of Old-Master-seeking on Italian soil. The picture

<sup>1</sup> The resemblances are also to be traced in the drawing preserved in the Uffizi collection. Herr Wilhelm Voege cites the style of the horse in the Uffizi drawing, showing the departure of Æneas Sylvius, and infers some confirmation of the once accepted participation of Raphael in Pinturicchio's Siena frescoes.

has suffered from much retouching, but one would gather from it that it was painted when the artist was about twenty-three. With the Uffizi portrait, it is of some interest to compare one from the Scarpia collection, which was sold in Milan in 1895, and which, it has been suggested, was a portrait of Raphael at the age of thirty, painted by Sebastian del Piombo. Is it possible that Raphael was ever invited to attend the courtly gatherings in the Palace of Urbino, and so had opportunity to listen to the "tinsel-chink of compliment" from the lips of the scholars and carpet-knights that conversed with "My Lady Duchess" and Madonna Emilia Pia, and other ladies referred to in the lively pages of the *Cortegiano*? During the spring of 1507 the ducal court was unusually gay on account of the visit of Pope Julius II., on which occasion it is conceivable that the Duke found some opportunity to say a word in favour of Raphael's accomplishments as an artist, and established an impression in the mind of Julius that was presently of service to the son of the Duke's retainer, Giovanni Santi. In favour of the supposition that Raphael shared the cultured intimacies of the Duchess Elisabetta is the introduction of his name, coupled with the names of Leo-



MADONNA OF THE CHILDRICH

*L'Espresso*



nardo, Mantegna, and Michelangelo, in an art discussion mentioned in Castiglione's book. But against this it has to be remembered that in 1507 Raphael had not attained to such repute as to be ranked with the leading men of the art world, and that the *Cortegiano* was not completed until many years later. How graceful is the conclusion of that work, which recalls the final passages of the *Symposium*, and seems still to be tinged with the rosy fingers of the dawn that, rising behind Monte Catria, blushed at the windows of Guidobaldo's palace, making the spent torches pale, the guests start from their discussion, and urging the ladies to their rooms to snatch some rest ere the star of Venus had quite faded, and the birds in the boughs awoke.

Back in Florence, which still, no doubt, felt the stir that had been caused by the exhibition of the cartoons of Leonardo's "Fight for the Standard" and Michelangelo's "Surprise at Cascina," Raphael became engaged on a number of religious pictures. One of these is the popular "Madonna of the Goldfinch" in the Tribuna, representing a little curly-haired, puffy-cheeked St. John, who, excited by his capture of the finch, hands it to a solemn little Jesus, who rests one foot on his Mother's, and



is all unconscious of the significant red in the feathers of the bird. The composition is of the pyramidal form ascribed to the tuition Raphael received from his fellow-worker, Fra Bartolommeo. In the background are a bridge and a rushing stream, and buildings that may represent the Duomo and Campanile of Florence. The white flowers in the foreground possibly refer to the occasion of the picture, which was executed as a wedding gift for Lorenzo Nasi, who treasured it, says Vasari, "on account of its rare excellence and of the great love" he bore to the painter. In 1547 the Nasi mansion was shattered by an earthquake, after which the picture had to be carefully pieced together, to become widely esteemed for the cheerful spirit and artful simplicity that breathe through it. Modern taste, perhaps, would prefer the absence of the bird that gives its name to the work, and which calls to mind that a finch, tied by a string, figures in the Perugian picture that may have served as a model for the "Madonna di Sant'Antonio." Such a detail, perhaps, would not have been chosen by Leonardo, who was a lover of animals, and would even buy caged birds in order to set them free.

Another Madonna of similar character is the



MADONNA IN THE MEADOW

*Belvedere, Vienna*



"Madonna in the Meadow," of the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna, of which the vicissitudes are recorded in E. R. von Engerth's Catalogue.<sup>1</sup> The head and shoulders of the Virgin in it are attractively Leonardesque. Numerous sketches for it remain to indicate that the painter had some difficulty in working out his conception. The third of this trio was the well-known "Belle Jardinière," for which the original drawing was in recent years bequeathed to the Louvre. As to the date, 1507, shown on the edge of the Virgin's mantle in the picture in the Louvre, there has been some comment. In his *Notice des Tableaux*<sup>2</sup> M. F. Villot argues that the date makes doubtful the assertion that this picture was the one left for Ridolfo Ghirlandaio to finish when Raphael left Florence for Rome at the close of 1508, and adds that the artist's signature would hardly have been put to an unfinished work. Who was the Florentine girl that served as model for these three famous Madonnas? Was it she, or the artist, who wished that her bare, white foot should be an emphatic note in these compositions?

To the year 1507 belongs the small "Holy

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., Vienna, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1852.

Family with the Lamb" of the Prado, also a work of Leonardesque character. It shows the Child Jesus as a lively boy bestriding a submissive lamb, the Virgin supporting Him while He looks up at the benevolent face of St. Joseph. The introduction of the animal may have some theological intention. Strictly speaking, however, the picture is a "Repose in Egypt," and it is thus possible that the painter, in representing the Child on the lamb's back, had in view no more than a pleasing piece of naturalism. Madrazo, in his Catalogue of 1872, states that the picture came from the Escorial, but that its history is obscure. The painter departs in it from the pyramidal form of composition; and this is also the case with the contested Ellesmere "Madonna of the Palm." But in the "Cani-giani Holy Family" of the Munich Gallery, painted for one of the family in which Lorenzo Nasi found his bride, the formality of the grouping indicates the influence of Bartolommeo. St. Joseph stands leaning on a staff and looks down on the aged, toothless mother, who holds her boy close to her, and on the blooming Virgin, the latter's gaze being directed towards Jesus, who takes an inscribed scroll from the little St. John. In the Oxford



STUDY FOR PICTURE OF ST. CATHARINE

*Drawing in the Louvre*



drawing relating to this composition the angels' heads of the upper part relieve the geometrical treatment. In the picture these heads were many years ago erased by the order of the Director of the Düsseldorf Gallery. Another drawing for it, in the d'Aumale collection, is of interest as showing the artist's practice of studying from the nude figure. The cult of St. Joseph was of comparatively late introduction, and owed much to the writings of Gerson and the patronage of Pope Sixtus IV. He occurs again, this time beardless, in Raphael's "Holy Family of the Hermitage," a picture of doubtful authenticity.

Eminent among the devotional pictures of Raphael's Florentine period is the "St. Catharine of Alexandria" of the National Gallery, for which the pricked cartoon, in itself a precious document, is to be found in the Louvre. It shows the saint leaning on her wheel, but without the other accessories sometimes added. She has one hand on her bosom, and looks upward with a rapt expression. Mr. Ruskin has some eloquent words on the "vital" character of the lines of her mouth, the type of which he connects with the expression of moral beauty and feeling. The landscape background of river, dam, trees, houses, and distant hills



is worthy of attention as studied apparently for its own sake from a scene in nature. The colouring, though subdued and cold, shows observation of the effects of light. The picture once belonged to William Beckford of *Vathek* and Fonthill celebrity, who clung to it when the bulk of his treasures went under the hammer. From him it was purchased for the nation in 1839.

Some time during Raphael's visit to Perugia in 1506, or perhaps so early as 1503, Raphael was commissioned to produce an altar-piece for the cathedral church there, San Francesco. The picture was required by the lady Atalanta Baglione, the widowed and still beautiful mother of the Grifonetto Baglione that murdered his kinsfolk, and received his death-stroke from his cousin, Gian Paolo. The Perugian chronicler Matarazzo describes how Grifonetto<sup>1</sup> was embraced, just ere he died, by his tearful mother, the multitude in the piazza respectfully making way for her and his young wife to approach: incidents that belonged to the year 1500, when Raphael was working in the bottega of Perugino. Thus the lady Atalanta had per-

<sup>1</sup> Of whom Miss M. Symonds suggests, in her account of Perugia, that one of the bearers in the picture is a portrait.



STUDY FROM MICHELANGELO'S ST. MATTHEW

*Drawing by Raphael in the British Museum*



sonal grief to feed, as well as devotion, in endowing the chapel of which the "Entombment" was the admired ornament for a century until, despite local protests, it was acquired from the monks of San Francesco, and carried off to Rome to hang in the palace of Cardinal Borghese, afterwards Paul V. It would seem that the painter first planned a "Deposition from the Cross" and went for a suggestion to Perugino's fine example of this subject, now in the Pitti. Relating to this idea of Raphael's are drawings in the Oxford Galleries and in the Louvre. In the Louvre drawing there is an affecting figure of St. John, standing with his hands clasped, for which Raphael found assistance in the print of Mantegna's "Entombment." This, possibly, it was that induced him to choose a later moment in the sacred history, and one that made great demand on his powers of technique. Many drawings are extant that go to show how arduously he bent his thoughts to the accomplishment of the less reposeful aspect of the theme, in his treatment of which the influence of Michelangelo seems also at work. The figure turning to support the Virgin in the drawing in the British Museum Print Room has been referred to the "Madonna of the Doni" *tondo* in the Tribuna.

The body and limbs of the Christ recall the pathos of the *pietà* in St. Peter's. There are, too, in the British Museum, studies, apparently by Raphael, from the great sculptor's David, then in the piazza of the Signoria. If, then, the painter has put into the background the mute grief that "whispers the o'erfraught heart," and has brought forward the dramatic, not to say melodramatic, figures of the bearers, it is not without justification that the explanation is sought in the painter's leaning to the powerful manner of the great Tuscan. As the subject was alien to Raphael's temperament, so was his treatment of it a borrowed one. In spite, or perhaps on account, of his laboriousness, the result is something stilted that lacks the art to conceal its art. Vasari, a disciple of the anatomising virtuosity of the sixteenth century, greatly admired the work. Minghetti also swells the note of praise, but others, such as Von Rumohr, Springer, Müntz, and Morelli are not enthusiastic. The predella to the "Entombment" was taken away by the French, but after 1815 was restored to Italy and placed in the Vatican Gallery. The lunette is to be found in the Church of San Francesco, above an altar-piece by Orazio Alfani.

The "Bridgewater Madonna" was for some





STUDY FOR THE BORGHESE ENTOMBMENT  
*British Museum*



THE ENTOMBMENT  
*Borghese Gallery, Rome*

UNIV. OF  
MICH.





time known as "La plus belle des Vierges," and was bought by the Duke, together with the "Madonna of the Palm," when the Orleans collection was dispersed in 1792; though, according to the account of M. F. Reiset, it was six years later when the Duke obtained it by purchase from M. Rondé, who had been jeweller to the King of France. It has some affinity in style to the "Belle Jardinière," but, as is somewhat characteristic of Raphael's later Florentine Madonnas, the Babe in it is emphasised rather than the mother. There are copies of the picture in the National Gallery and elsewhere, but it is in the Bridgewater, or rather the Ellesmere picture,<sup>1</sup> that Frizzoni finds the "mano del sommo Urbinate." Some uncertainty exists as to the date of the work. This is not the case with the "Nicolini" or large "Cowper Madonna," wherein the figures 1508 appear on the yoke of the dress of the Virgin, whose face is rendered in profile. Another picture undertaken towards the close of Raphael's residence in Florence was the

<sup>1</sup> The illustrious Duke of Bridgewater was not markedly sensitive to the beautiful, and was, perhaps, an early instance of the art-investor. His collection, at one time valued at £150,000, passed to his nephew, with reversion to the first Earl of Ellesmere.

unfinished "Esterhazy Madonna" of Buda-Pesth, which was presented by Pope Clement XI. to the Empress Elizabeth, and by her to Count Kaunitz. It represents the Virgin kneeling, while the Child sits on some soft material which lies on a piece of rock, and St. John holds the scroll and cross. It departs in some particulars from the fine study for it in the Uffizi. The Dei family altar-piece, otherwise the "Madonna del Baldacchino," a composition much retouched, seems closely related to Fra Bartolommeo's "Marriage of St. Catharine." It is a *santa conversazione* showing the Virgin and Child and four saints, one of whom, St. Augustine, seems, as it were, to be introducing one of the faithful to a queen who is the centre of some solemn court function. The duet of the little angels in front of the throne relieves the scene from official frigidity, and recalls the similar figures introduced by Costa, Francia, or Bartolommeo, or the little viol-players Carpaccio liked. The floating angels, which resemble two in the Pace fresco in Rome, were added, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, after 1514. The canopy was a detail introduced by G. A. Cassana about 1697, when Ferdinand de' Medici

had the picture removed from the cathedral of Pescia.

The record is imperfect of Raphael's movements during his Florentine years, 1504 to 1508, when he learned and accomplished much, and was baptised in the name of the Renaissance ideals of art. His visits to Perugia and Urbino have been mentioned above. That he was in his native place in October, 1507, is known from a legal deposition published in 1881 by Signor Alippo Alippi. The late M. Müntz and others conjecture visits to Bologna and Padua. One thing, however, that he was in Florence in the spring of 1508, appears from the following letter addressed to his uncle, Simone Ciarla, and preserved in the Borgian Museum of the *De Propaganda Fide*.

"Dear as a father," it runs, "I have received your letter, from which I have learned the death of our Illustrious Lord the Duke, on whose soul may God have mercy. Assuredly I could not read your letter without crying. But *transeat*. There's no helping it. One must be patient, and submit to God's will. I wrote the other day to my uncle the priest<sup>1</sup> to send me the small picture . . . of my Lady the Prefetessa. He has not sent it . . . please remind him

<sup>1</sup> His father's brother, Don Bartolommeo.

about it, so that I can satisfy my Lady. You know one will have need of these people. Further, I beg, dearest uncle, that you will be good enough to say to the priest and to Santa<sup>1</sup> that on the arrival of the Florentine Taddeo Taddei, of whom we have often talked, you are all to entertain him without stint. You, moreover, will be very gracious to him on my account, for I am more beholden to him than to any man alive.

“I haven’t put a price upon the picture, and shall not do so if I can help it. It will be better for that to depend on their estimation. So I have not written about that on which I had nothing to say. But, according to what has been said to me, the owner of that picture will give me commissions to the extent of 300 gold ducats, here or in France. After the festa, I shall perhaps let you know the price of the picture, as soon as I have finished the cartoon. I shall get to work after Easter. I should much like, if possible, to have a letter of recommendation to the Gonfaloniere of Florence from my Lord the Prefect. A little while back I wrote to uncle (? Don Bartolommeo) and to Giacomo, urging that I might be sent one from Rome. It would be of much service to me on

<sup>1</sup> His father’s sister.

## DEATH OF DUKE GUIDOBALDO 47

account of his (*i.e.* the Gonfaloniere's) concern with the work of a certain chamber, which is in the gift of his Lordship. Please send me the letter. I believe my Lord Prefect will let me have it, if he is asked. Recommend me to him, as often as you can, as his former servant and dependant. Further commend me to Maestro . . . and to Rodolfo, and to all the others. . . . 21 April, 1508. Your Rafaello, painter in Florence."<sup>1</sup>

From this letter one learns of the death of Guidobaldo Montefeltro, and gains light on the painter's businesslike methods of seeking patronage. Raphael apparently at this time had no inkling of the brilliant sphere of action in which he was about to move. And yet fate had designed that the young painter, who was seeking sedulously the countenance of a mediocrity like Piero Soderini,<sup>2</sup> should form one of that constellation — Bramante, Michelangelo, Raphael—to mention which is to stir the sense as with the note of a trumpet; and that, far

<sup>1</sup> Minghetti, *Rafaello*, p. 107; who quotes also (p. 91) a short letter by the painter found on the back of a drawing made by him for Domenico Alfani, and now in the Wicar Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Machiavelli's epitaph consigns him to the Limbo of Babes. See Creighton's *Papacy*, vol. iv., 1887, p. 158.

from spending his energies on such minor tasks as the ruling burgess of Florence might have allotted, he should be called on, as the chosen instrument of one of the most vigorous of the Popes, to glorify the capital of Christendom. The heritage of Gothic architecture excepted, surely no such splendid sphere of activity had been opened to the servants of art since the time when Pheidias laboured on the adornment of the temple of Athene the Maiden, or the Master Builders of Justinian flung the shadow of the Church of Holy Wisdom over the waters of the Golden Horn.

## CHAPTER III

### DEVELOPMENT UNDER JULIUS

Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century—Architects and artists gathered there—Raphael among the number—Internal decoration of the Vatican Palace—Raphael employed on part of it—Satisfaction of Pope Julius II., who commits to him the chief works in the four Stanze—The “Disputa,” the “School of Athens,” “Parnassus,” and other frescoes in the Segnatura—Raphael as a versemaker—Method of work in painting frescoes—Execution of those in the Stanza of Heliodorus—“Mass of Bolsena”—“Expulsion of Heliodorus”—“Liberation of St. Peter”—and “Meeting of Attila and Pope Leo”—Other works, viz.: “Vierge au Diadème”—“Aldobrandini Madonna”—“Madonna di casa d’Alba”—“Madonna della Sedia”—“Madonna di Foligno”—“Madonna del Pescé”—“Madonna del Divino Amore”—“Madonna de’ candelabri”—“Rogers Madonna”—Fresco of “Isaiah”—“Madonna dell’ Impannata,” and other Madonnas—Portrait of Julius II.—Raphael subjects engraved and popularised by Marcantonio and others—Death of Pope Julius II.

CONCEIVE Europe as it was when the “New World” and the “Cape of Good Hope” were only just beginning to be phrases meaning something tangible; when printing



was not yet out of its infancy ; when Paris and London could establish little claim to be centres of civilisation ; and when cultivated society would have been looked for in vain north of the Alps, where the militarism of the Middle Ages yet bore sway. In such an age what a contrast was implied in the name of Rome, the venerable capital of Christendom, the ecclesiastical centre of Europe, and a prime seat of secular learning ! In the oft-shaken but firmly-based city on the Tiber moved the springs of a vast ecclesiastical system, which was about to be extended into the lately discovered lands of the West. There the scholar and the artist hoped to find recognition, welcome, and support. There the eager "humanist" knew he could find rich store of books, printed or manuscript—books, too, in stone, those precious remains of classical antiquity which had begun to stir the sympathies, or at least the curiosity, of the educated. The long-prized Apollo Belvedere, disinterred at Antium about 1499, was soon taken to Rome, to become there the theme of general discussion. A few years later the famous Laocoön was discovered in the "Sette Sale," near the ruins of the baths of Titus. It may be imagined with what fever of expectancy Michelangelo watched its extrication

from the soil.<sup>1</sup> To contain these sculptures, together with the Sleeping Ariadne and other noted antiques, the Vatican Museum was founded by the energy of Julius II., whose interest in classical art did not, however, lead him to neglect some necessary improvement of the winding narrow streets of his capital. Like a Pharaoh's of old, his mind was bent also on the erection of a costly sepulchre, which should be a memorial of himself and his deeds. A mausoleum proportionate to his desires was not carried out by the great sculptor he employed. Nevertheless, it may be claimed with some justice that he achieved his purpose when, on the 18th of April, 1506, he laid the foundation stone of the new church of St. Peter. In that building may be said of him, as of another man in another age, the pregnant words "Si monumentum requiris, circumspice." Yet that mighty church, while it conferred such glory on the Pontiff and the City, may be said to have dismembered Catholicism, and to have given body and voice to the Protestant and national feeling of Europe. As Julius was inclined to schemes of grandiose building, so was his mind apt for conceiving daring and difficult political

<sup>1</sup> See letter in Fea's *Miscellanea*, i. p. 329.

schemes. By calling in the French he was enabled to humble the Venetian Republic and to consolidate the States of the Church. Afterwards, as the champion of Italian nationality, he expelled the Gallic "barbarians"—but at the cost of introducing into the harassed peninsula the leaden weight of Spain. The fiery soul of the "pontefice terribile" was too closely beset with the cares of state for him to be an ideal patron of the artists about him. And he had but little inclination for the fashionable pursuit of the "humaner letters." The style of speech he affected was rather that of the soldier. "I am no scholar. Show me with a sword," he cried to Michelangelo, when the sculptor proposed to represent the subjugator of Bologna, book in hand. While Erasmus was residing in Italy he wrote complaining that "*studia frigent, fervent bella.*" The apostle of humanism happened to be present in Bologna in November, 1506. It can be imagined with what sarcastic eyes he witnessed the Pope's triumphal entry in that specially mild season of "*roses, roses, all the way.*" For Erasmus beheld the temporal triumph of the Church Militant with much discontent.<sup>1</sup> But though he declined the ecclesiastical appointment

<sup>1</sup> "*Non sine tacito gemitu spectabam.*"

offered him in Rome and went elsewhere, he rejoiced to have seen its "splendid" libraries and to have shared its learned society. In this respect he was at one with the stern monk of Wittenberg, who stayed in Rome a few years later.

From this brief review of the central position Rome occupied at the opening of the sixteenth century, it can be understood with what eagerness Raphael set out to take up his lot with the artists of note gathered there under the ægis of Julius II. Prominent among these was Bramante, who had been long a *patiente figlio di povertate*, but now, as the architect of St. Peter's, was borne on the tide of prosperity, and able to play the part of liberal host to his fellow-workers in art. Michelangelo was present, too, in Rome engaged on his enforced task of fresco-painting in the Sistine Chapel. His great rival Leonardo, however, did not share the papal patronage. Julius would probably have overlooked Leonardo's having been associated with the Borgia, but he knew well the dilatory habits of the artist, and thought, too, perhaps, he had enough to do in urging on the restive spirit of Michelangelo. How Raphael came to be employed by him is not clearly known. Florence, it is true, had

done much for Perugino's promising pupil, but he was not yet in the front rank as an artist. Had he been so, he would hardly have found it necessary to seek an introduction to the good graces of a Gonfaloniere Soderini. Vasari speaks of Bramante's recommendation, but it is more likely that Raphael owed most to the good offices of Francesco Maria della Rovere, the new Duke of Urbino and the Pope's nephew. In November, 1507, Julius moved into upper rooms of the Vatican, not liking, says Paris de Grassis,<sup>1</sup> to have ever before his eyes the countenance of his enemy, Pope Alexander VI., whom he stigmatised as a Jew, and an infidel, and a criminal of evil memory, but whose portrait and armorials he was unwilling to remove from the walls of the palace. For the use of Julius there had been found available a suite of rooms dating from the pontificate of Nicholas V. A crowd of artists were employed in them, a number of interesting works by older artists, such as Bonfigli, Andrea del Castagno, Piero della Francesca, and others, being obliterated, at least so says Vasari, to make spaces for the brushes of newer men to fill. When Raphael arrived in 1508-9 the

<sup>1</sup> *Diarium*, 1507, November 26th. "Hodie Papa incepit in superioribus mansionibus palatii habitare," etc.

walls of these rooms, the Stanze, afterwards designated from the frescoes he left in them, were already decorated by the transitory frescoes executed by Perugino, Sodoma, and others. In the small, cross-lighted chamber of the Segnatura<sup>1</sup> Julius made trial of Raphael's powers by entrusting to his skill the four medallions prominently situated on the vaulted ceiling between the central space containing the cross-keys of Parentucelli and the tops of the wall-paintings. In these medallions Raphael placed the symbolical figures of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence, a union of faculties congenial to the easy temper of the Renascence. With these figures the Pope was so well pleased that he ordered the obliteration of works executed not long before, and committed to Raphael the decoration of the Segnatura and of the three neighbouring Stanze. Only with difficulty could the triumphant new-comer prevail on his

<sup>1</sup> This name has caused discussion. Wickhoff and others suppose that it was the papal library commended by Cardinal Bembo for its beautiful decoration, and refer to the prominence of books in the "Disputa." M. Julian Klaczko contends that it was an ecclesiastical Court of Appeal. See *Rome et la Renaissance*, 1898, pp. 210-16. See also the definition from Robiola quoted in A. Springer's pamphlet of 1860 on the "Disputa."

impatient patron to leave undisturbed in the ceiling of the Segnatura the papal escutcheon and the ornamental work done by Sodoma, and in the two small adjacent rooms works by Perugino and Baldassare Peruzzi. Doubtless Raphael felt some embarrassment at the discomfiture of his former teacher, since there is evidence that he kept on good terms with Peruzzi<sup>1</sup> and Sodoma, with whom he had but lately come in contact, and did not incense them by any arrogance of success. Sodoma had possibly been employed in the Vatican through the influence of the great banker, Sigismondo Chigi. The works of this artist that were left in the Segnatura are the smiling cupids, capriciously foreshortened, that support the papal arms, and eight small designs of a mythological character. Those removed were "some large medallions and some tolerable subjects in fresco."

Raphael's medallions, the first-fruits of his Roman period, consist of stately figures with a background of clouds relieved against a gold ground, imitating mosaic. They are not without some suggestion of Perugino's work in the decoration of the Cambio of Perugia. The classical style of the attendant amorini, their

<sup>1</sup> See a legal agreement cited by Minghetti, p. 111.

## MEDALLIONS: THEOLOGY, ETC. 57

tablets and Latin inscriptions, point to the trend of the artist's thoughts, if not, more probably, to the literary direction of some learned official, such as Inghirami or de' Conti, in the papal service. But the red and green robe of Theology, her white veil and garland of olive leaves, hinting at her connection with the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, conform to mediæval ecclesiastical prescription. She is shown pointing to the celestial assemblage represented on the wall beneath, the subject of which picture is indicated by the words on the tablet, "*Divinarum rerum notitia.*" Philosophy sits on a throne the arms of which are ornamented with busts suggested possibly by some ancient figure of Artemis. She is furnished with books of ethics and of natural law, her attendant "putti" being wingless and of earthly build. Poetry is a gracious figure with the countenance and far-away look in the eyes that recall the St. Catharine of the National Gallery. She sits cross-legged. Her wings and robe are blue. Her right arm, outstretched, holds a book; her left, resting on a tragic mask, holds a lyre. The words "*numine afflatur,*" from the sixth *Æneid*, on the tablets of the winged genii, are not necessary to enforce the meaning of the rapt look of



one that beholds Apollo Musagetes advancing from Olympus, grave with some great theme. "Jurisprudence," or "Justice," a less impressive figure than the "Poetry," has a meek Umbrian face, which hardly matches her traditional scales and sword. Her motto is, "Jus suum unicuique tribuit." Two of her four attendant figures are winged. It has been suggested that Raphael began with this medallion, and, gaining experience therefrom, preferred to omit two of the accompanying figures from the field of the later designs.

Correlated with these figures of the four medallions are the subjects of the four small nearly rectangular pictures, also on grounds of gold mosaic, which are situated above the pendentives. Next to "Theology" is the "Fall of Man," in which the serpentine form of the Tempter terminates, as was not uncommon in early art, in the head of a woman. The Evil One is whispering to Eve, who appears to be a willing partner in the plot against mankind. Next to the "Poetry" comes the "Apollo and Marsyas," the defeat of the satyr signifying the triumph of the more over the less refined forms of art. According to Passavant, the painter had in mind lines 19-21 from the first canto of the *Paradiso*, viz.:

"Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue,  
Sì come quando Marsia traesti  
Della vagina delle membra sue."<sup>1</sup>

Near the medallion of "Justice" is a design illustrating the judgment of Solomon. Next to "Philosophy," or "Science," is not a design from Scripture, or legend, but an allegorical figure of a woman contemplating a celestial globe, and symbolises astronomy, though the figure is often referred to as "Fortune."

The Virgilian phrase, "numine afflatur," annexed to the figure of "Poetry," might be justly applied to the composer of such a symphonic poem as the scheme of decoration on the ceiling and walls of the Segnatura, to which the medallions give the keynote. How Raphael was able, if not to conceive and compass this maze not without a plan, at any rate, to carry it out with such feeling for harmony and completeness in the composition, and with so much technical skill, is something not fully explained. His easel-work in Florence was not the same thing as actual practice in fresco, to obtain which had perhaps been the main object of his seeking a recommendation to the patronage of Soderini. All he had to show in

<sup>1</sup> "Oh enter then my breast, and breathe again,—  
As when poor Marsyas' carcase thou didst skin," etc.

*Par. I., 19-21.—PLUMPTRE.*

this sphere so far was his unfinished San Severo fresco in Perugia. Yet, the opportunity being given to him, he accomplished with instant success those first difficult steps in a, for him, novel branch of art, and one in which to succeed was the summit of a painter's ambition. In the accomplishment of his splendid task he had to embrace the leading ideas of Catholicism in the manner of the flowering time of the Italian Renaissance, and set them forth for the delight, not only of the reigning Pope and his court of cardinals, statesmen, and literati, and of subsequent rulers of the Church, but also of a train of poets, artists, and thinkers that came in after days from north and south of the Alps. For the painter's vivid force of mind passed beyond the bounds of Italy. He was possessed, as it were, by a new gift of tongues, and his spirit was poured forth on all western lands.

Beneath the downward pointing finger of Theology is the celebrated fresco known now for a long time as the "Disputa del Sacramento," an inappropriate title, or rather one to which the religious dissensions of coming generations gave a somewhat mistaken interpretation. The title is found in print in a Guide to Rome of 1739, being doubtless an



DISPUTA DEL SACRAMENTO  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanzas*



abbreviation of Vasari's description, wherein the word "disputano" occurs in the sense of discuss. In 1509 the temporal and spiritual position of the Church must have seemed in Rome quite consolidated, so that it would be unwise to connect Raphael's masterpiece with the distracting controversies of the Reformation. The subject of the fresco was probably chosen with reference to the family feeling of Julius II., whose uncle, Sixtus IV., was a writer on Transubstantiation, his book being published by a Roman printer named Giovanni Filippo de Lignanime. It is far from unlikely that Julius intimated his wish that the features of Sixtus should be delineated, as Pastor<sup>1</sup> contends that they are, in those of a Pope represented in the fresco with a volume in his hands.

In approaching the "Disputa," which was virtually Raphael's first essay in monumental fresco, then held to be the highest flight in painting, it is evident he took pains commensurate with the difficulties of his commission. Besides seeking the advice of Ariosto, and probably that of Inghirami, papal chaplain, and Sigismondo de' Conti, private secretary to the Pope, in regard to the intellectual aspect of his subject, it is clear from the numerous

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 78.

studies extant in the Louvre, the British Museum, Windsor Castle, the Albertina, and elsewhere, that he spared no labour in laying out the ground plan. It was one thing to paint an allegorical figure in each of the medallions of the ceiling. But it was a far greater tax on the artist's powers to achieve a composition so comprehensive as to set forth in one picture the triumph of the Church, the blessedness of those that are received into the Kingdom of Heaven, and the ever renewed miracle of the Eucharist. For the stratification of the upper part of the fresco he had well-established hieratic precedents to guide him. Indeed, the whole picture might seem to have been suggested by the apse of some vast cathedral, so much suggestion is there about it of treatment derived from the ancient ecclesiastical decoration in mosaic, a view strengthened by the application of such an archaic feature as the gold rays which descend from above. The representation in the upper part consists of the First Person of the Trinity in the act of benediction, and surrounded by a lozenge-shaped halo, while at each side floats an exquisite group of angels in a mist of cherubim delicately limned. Below is Christ, taken from a rather weak type, with the arms lifted so as

to show the wounded palms, seated in relief against a golden disk. On His right is the Virgin making a profound obeisance, in the manner of early art; on the left is St. John, pointing to Him whose paths he came to make straight. The zone beneath consists of twelve figures of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and saints, a gathering, as it were, of the glorified Church Universal, representative of the fulfilment of the Old Law by the New. Round the dove, prescribed by traditional usage, there appear, in place of the long-established symbolical animals, etc., four graceful amorini, who hold up the open books of the gospels, a substitution for the better in which the influence of Bartolommeo may be traced. The clouds forming the base of the upper picture are composed of a billowy mass of angel shapes, seemingly countless as the stars, which were suggested, perhaps, by the Virgilian directness of the lines at the opening of Book xxxi. of the *Paradiso* :—

“ Si come schiera d' api, che s' infiora  
 Una fiata, ed una si ritorna  
 Là dove suo lavoro s' insapora. . .”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ As swarm of bees that deep in flowerets move  
 One moment, and the next return again  
 To where their labour doth its sweetness prove”;  
 PLUMPTRE.



This beautiful detail of angelic cloud faces, which seem to exhale light and music, occurs again in the Madonna di Foligno and the Madonna di San Sisto, and would thus seem to be one which Raphael specially affected. His father's literary tastes and studies, one would wish to think, had made his child familiar with the Dantean exposition of mediæval Catholicism and the imaginative setting of the *Divina Commedia*. Perhaps its starting-point may be found in the few heads of cherubs in the upper part of the "Coronation of the Virgin."

Turning to the lower portion of the picture, wherein the treatment grapples with technical difficulties in a manner more consonant with the artistic tendencies of the fifteenth-century naturalists and of those of his own age, it is clear that the altar, inscribed with the name of Julius, or rather the monstrance upon it, forms the focus of the composition. At the sides of the altar appear those pillars of the Church, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Gregory the Great, and, beyond these, skilfully grouped defenders of the faith, comprising popes, bishops, monks, and figures of laymen. Of these, two youths are remarkable for their expression of adoration. Another figure stands in

graceful attitude, appealing to those near him to cease argument, and follow the example of the youths that gaze so devoutly at the Host. Among the varied figures to the right of the altar the laurelled brows of Dante will be recognised. Near him is the face of another that was also rejected of the poet's birthplace. Ten or eleven years before this fresco was painted Girolamo Savonarola had perished at the stake, having been handed over by papal rescript to the secular arm. Now by one of Time's revenges the features of the great Dominican appear in place of honour on the wall of a chamber in the papal palace. It is unlikely that for this introduction of an ecclesiastical rebel the painter's initiative was responsible. It must have been by the wish of Julius, who may have had personal relations with the erstwhile theocratic dictator of Florence, and who took this opportunity of reversing the judgment of his detested predecessor, Alexander VI.<sup>1</sup> Further, it should be borne in mind that Savonarola had been prominent for his attachment to the doctrine

<sup>1</sup> Pastor disputes the correctness of the view that finds the features of Savonarola in the fresco. *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 781. But Julius, when Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, lived as an exile for some time in Florence, and may have had relations while there with Savonarola.

of the Holy Sacrament, the core of the subject treated in the "Disputa." On the extreme left is the countenance of another Dominican, the saintly limner of San Marco, Fra Angelico, balanced on the right by St. Thomas Aquinas, the great protagonist of the Dominicans, who appears in the black and white of his Order. Though the gentle Franciscan, Bonaventura, is not forgotten, the Dominicans, it will be noticed, appear in marked prominence. Their Order for one thing counted within it noted masters in the painter's art. Another reason, perhaps, was that Raphael had learned in Florence from his close friend Bartolommeo, once a "Piagnone," how active had been the jealousy of the rival Order of the Franciscans in working against the reforming Prior of San Marco. In the background, to which no special care was given, are to be seen on the right what, some suppose, are the unfinished walls of the apse of St. Peter's, and on the left a building in course of construction.

Though Raphael was the painter *par excellence* of the Madonna, it will be noticed that, with the exception of the Virgin's, no woman's figure is admitted by the painter to a place in the communion of saints above or the Church Militant beneath. St. Catharine of Alexan-

dria, St. Clara, the friend of St. Francis, St. Catharine of Siena, were names of note in Italy. It might have been supposed, then, that it would have come naturally to the painter to include in an official picture a representative of the many religieuses that have taken a prominent part in the history of the Church. This absence of pious votaresses from the fresco is a reminder, perhaps, that the governance of the Church has been exclusively in masculine hands.<sup>1</sup>

The shape of the altar is referred by M. Klaczko to the foundation-stone of St. Peter's, which Julius had laid on the 18th of April, 1506, carrying through with much energy the solemn function arranged for that Saturday *in albis*.<sup>2</sup> He regards the picture as representing the "milizia santa" and the faithful of preceding ages called on to witness the Pope's great architectural enterprise. From the standpoint of composition, observers have felt that, as in the "Coronation" and the "Transfiguration," there are in the "Disputa" two pictures rather than one. But it should be remembered that in 1509 Protestantism was not. Raphael painted for the as yet undivided Church of the

<sup>1</sup> In Dürer's Landauer altarpiece, however, figures of women appear among those of martyrs.

<sup>2</sup> This also was the date of the papal brief to Henry VII. of England respecting the rebuilding of St. Peter's.

west. In the minds of true believers the monstrance on the altar would be the cynosure of every eye. What the indifferent of to-day regard as merely a "dogmatic hyphen" between the upper and lower subjects, was in Raphael's age the natural centre of interest of the entire composition. He has gone near success in his effort to convey a profound mystery of the faith. The subject was beyond the resources of pictorial art, but the painter's attempt is fairly described in words aptly borrowed by Minghetti as a

"poema sacro

Al quale han posto mano e cielo e terra."

Opposite this "vision splendid" of the glory of God in the regions of bliss, and of the Church in its earthly counterpart, is the fresco of the "School of Athens," which might with some justice be entitled the "School of Rome," seeing that generations of artists and students have gone to Rome to seek instruction, or inspiration, in its skilful treatment of groups and gesture, and in that fine perspective—for Raphael is avowedly pictorial in his fresco work—which leads the eye into remote distance. The design of this architectural perspective, it is said, he owed to Bramante, the builder of the new, and, alas! the "rovinante"



THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanze*



of the old St. Peter's. It has been more lately suggested that he took the background from a panel by Ghiberti in those doors of the Baptistery, which Michelangelo said were worthy of Paradise. Not alone artists have resorted to the "Camera della Segnatura," but crowds of visitors and pilgrims of culture have gone there to find, or to renew, their ideas of the aspect of Greek or Roman gods, poets, and philosophers. The painter doubtless was assisted on the literary side of his work, but there is a harmony about it indicative of how much he had absorbed and bettered his instruction. Without any intention of antagonism to the theological exposition of the "Disputa" opposite, Raphael here presents a kind of apotheosis of philosophy and learning, as developed by man without the help of Revelation. And so Plato appears in it, with his "Timæus," his finger uplifted, to indicate his transcendentalism, a stately form appropriate to one of those philosophers that are kings on whom the existence of his "Republic" was to be based. As the earlier philosopher he is represented as an older man than his companion Aristotle, the practical moralist at odds with idealism, who is endowed with the personal charms the modern observer rather looks



for in the semblance of the teacher of the grove of Academus. Looking at the two figures, it is not difficult to understand that at a later time, when the fever of classicism had abated, they should be viewed by the less erudite, and even in 1550 be engraved, as St. Peter and St. Paul. It will be perceived that Plato and Aristotle stand on the same level, and in a position equally central. Though the former was the idol of the paganising humanists that had circled round Lorenzo de' Medici, the official heads of the Church at the Vatican could hardly forget the obligations of the Schoolmen to the "master of those that know." The armour and handsome aspect of the figure beneath the statue of Apollo plainly mark one of the casual visits of the Alcibiades<sup>1</sup> of the brighter days of his sullied career. Placed fittingly near him is Socrates, looking the "midwife of men's thoughts," his features being derived from an antique gem preserved in Florence. His attitude of gentle convincingness is well described by Sterne, who says of Raphael's representation that it is so exquisitely imagined that even the "particular manner of reasoning is expressed by it; for he holds the forefinger of his left

<sup>1</sup> It should be said that some have read this figure as Xenophon.

hand between the forefinger and thumb of his right, and seems as if he were saying to the libertine he is reclaiming, 'You grant me this ; and this, and this I don't ask of you. They follow of themselves in course.'” Diogenes the Cynic, with a “pride greater than Plato's,” sprawls on the steps, unheeding the discourse of the master-spirits. “What is this intruder doing here?” seems to be conveyed by the action of the hands of the young man, possibly Aristippus, that turns away from him. On the extreme left, a group of an old man with a child in his arms, another man, and a youth, listen to the honied words of some speaker, who reads from an open book ; near them being Averroës and Pythagoras, who discourses on arithmetic and the harmony of numbers to a youth with animated face and his hand on an abacus. On the right, Euclid,<sup>1</sup> a figure skilfully foreshortened in whose bald head and face has been perceived the likeness of Bramante, is engaged in some geometrical demonstration, which is closely followed by the cleverly drawn figures near him. To the right of Zoroaster and Ptolemy, the latter with a crown mistakenly borrowed, earlier than Raphael's

<sup>1</sup> Formerly generally known as Archimedes, a name possibly derived from the adjacent drawing in grisaille subsequently executed by Perino del Vaga.

time, from the royal line of Egypt, represent the claims of astronomy and geography. In the head of Zoroaster there is some resemblance to the Castiglione portrait of the Louvre. Next to these, at the extreme right, where the fresco has much suffered, enter two figures, of whom the younger has admittedly the brown eyes and hair of Raphael, now grown somewhat older than he looks in the much-restored oil portrait of the Uffizi. His companion with the dark locks long passed unquestioned as Perugino until Morelli disturbed the ascription in favour of Sodoma, some of whose decorative work was left, as noted above, by Raphael's wish and courtesy in the ceiling of the Segnatura.<sup>1</sup> More recently M. Klaczko has argued that the head formerly known as Perugino's is too old for the Sodoma of 1509. It has, however, a general likeness to the humorous face Sodoma left of himself in the portrait, painted *ætat.* 25, with long hair and berretta, in a fresco at Monte Oliveto. Another portrait in this fresco, that of the princely youth in the long white mantle,

<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that Sodoma was on good terms with his successful competitor. At Christ Church College there is a portrait in black chalk, which Mr. Sidney Colvin ascribes to Sodoma, and which resembles the head of Raphael in this fresco. See *Selected Drawings*, Oxford, part i., 1903.

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has been attributed to Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino. The curly-haired boy near him was long held to be Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua, a hostage, and, at the same time, the beloved playfellow of the "Pontefice terribile" in his scanty hours of leisure. But according to a letter from Grossino, quoted by M. Klaczko, the Pope intended to have his favourite represented, not in the "School of Athens," but in the fresco done subsequently of the "Promulgation of the Decretals." A recent writer, Herr Wilhelm Voegelé, following in the track of R. Vischer, has described some similarities between parts of Raphael's work in the Stanze and of the Donatello reliefs in Padua treating miraculous incidents in the life of St. Antony of Padua. These resemblances he notes in the group of two youths adoring the Host near the altar in the "Disputa," and also in the group of three men, one of them holding a staff, behind the portraits in the "School of Athens" of Raphael and Sodoma. With these he compares some subsidiary figures in Donatello's relief treating the "miraculous discovery of the heart." It has been mentioned above how Raphael in the course of his Florentine experiences seems to have been struck by the dramatic verve of Donatello's

work on the pedestal for the statue of St. George, marked traces of which have been noted in the small picture in St. Petersburg of "St. George and the Dragon." It need not, then, come as a surprise that, with his genius for apt assimilation, he should have turned to account his acquaintance with the powerful work of the Florentine sculptor.

The name of this fresco, the "School of Athens," has been traced back so far as 1671, when it is found in an account of his travels by the Marquis de Seignelay. But the genesis of the picture is obscure. In the cartoon preserved in the Ambrosian Library in Milan the figure in the foreground of the deeply pondering Heracleitus, the portraits of the painter himself and of Sodoma, and the architectural background are wanting. Besides this study there are but a few fragmentary sketches and studies. After noting that the painter has in this fresco worked with a freedom and assurance which show how he had, by his practice with the "Disputa," acquired the power to compose in groups, and to combine unity of effect with variety of detail, the observer will seek to understand what leading idea is meant to be conveyed by this visionary temple of science in which the statues of Apollo<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Said to have been taken from an intaglio that once belonged to Lorenzo the Magnificent.

## INTENTION OF THE FRESCO 75

Pallas preside over a gathering of fifty, or more, of the sages of the antique world. At first one is disposed to think that the subject chosen was intended to counterbalance the "Disputa," and that Raphael here declares himself a pupil of the Renaissance to the extent of vindicating human reason, and investing the world of profane knowledge with an importance equal to that of the sphere of faith and the mysteries of religion as declared from above. But a proclamation of the rights of man and the human mind was far from the painter's thoughts, and would hardly have been sanctioned by his ecclesiastical patrons. Men's ideas had for ages moved in a hazy atmosphere in which the great figures of paganism walked not sharply distinguished from the crowd of orthodox saints and martyrs. And this *modus vivendi* did not fail until the fierce disputation of the Reformation period, which Raphael did not live to see. Just as Dante saw no incongruity in making Virgil his guide and counsellor in his journey through the circles of the Christian hell, so Taddeo Gaddi, in the frescoes of the Spanish chapel, established for the celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi, pushing further the examples already set in the fountain of Perugia and Giotto's Campanile, introduced

effigies of pagan celebrities such as Cicero and Boethius, mingled with those of Christian times. By the aid of Ruskin<sup>1</sup> it is easy to grasp the intention of the artist to express the teaching power of God, as specially exemplified in the Dominican order. In the centre of the composition is the learned Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas, near his feet being Sabellius and other noted heretics. Besides emblematical figures of the virtues, the artist portrays each of the seven theological and the seven secular sciences in the person of the "captain teacher," viz. under Civil Law, Justinian; under Canon Law, Clement V.; under Practical Theology, Peter Lombard; under Contemplative Theology, Dionysius the Areopagite; and under Polemic Theology, St. Augustine: similarly, Arithmetic is accompanied by Pythagoras, Geometry by Euclid, Logic by Aristotle, Astronomy by Zoroaster, and so on.

In this decorative scheme of the fourteenth century the artist has furnished an account of the "Trivium" and "Quadrivium" which mediæval culture regarded as comprehending all that was necessary for the secular training of the human mind. It was a scheme of education which underwent little change in the generations that followed. In the fifteenth century pictures of the "Seven Liberal Arts,"

<sup>1</sup> *Mornings in Florence*, 1875, pp. 116, etc.

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generally attributed to Melozzo da Forlì, in a similar allegorising style, two of which have found their way to the National Gallery, were executed for Federigo da Montefeltro. They were a noted feature in the adornment of the ducal palace of Urbino, and these Raphael doubtless gazed upon when a child.

Further, it is possible that Raphael may have made actual studies in the Spanish chapel during his residence in Florence. As to his selection of typical figures for the "School of Athens," there is nothing in it specially derived from the ideas of his own age. For in a quite early picture by Francesco Traini in Sta. Caterina, in Pisa, wherein St. Thomas Aquinas appears, he is shown by the side of Plato and Aristotle, the former holding his "Timæus," the latter the "Ethics." Something similar, too, appears in the picture by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Louvre.

The object of this digression is to suggest that the "School of Athens" is not to be regarded as a pictorial history of the course of Greek philosophy, in which, by prayer and fasting and analysis of some such writer as Sadoletto, Marsilio Ficino, or Pico della Mirandola, an idea can be obtained of what Raphael, or his advisers, thought on this abstruse subject, and what persons he wished to draw as repre-



sentative of various ancient schools of philosophy. Rather was it the case that Raphael, as a servant of the Pope, as an Umbrian in training and feeling, and by nature a skilled adapter and summariser of artistic motives, chose to set forth in the broader and developed style of his own age the sphere of the "Seven Disciplines" which the Scholastics of the Middle Ages worked out as sufficient for training the human faculties to deal with the business of this world.

The "modern manner," as Vasari would phrase it, of the "School of Athens," and the classical dress in which Raphael presented his conception, appealed more to the sympathies of the generations immediately following his own than the more archaic setting of the "Disputa." Montaigne, who happened to travel in Italy about 1581, is, it is true, absolutely silent on the subject of Raphael. But, though this was not the case with other travellers, they said little of the "Disputa," probably classing it as old-fashioned art of the "dry" Peruginesque. In Protestant Europe, however, there did not necessarily obtain the same degree of appreciation for what may be prophetically called the Miltonian marriage of pagan and Christian imagery. Its tolerance, perhaps, seemed to serious minds a trifling with the

sharp distinctions insisted on by reforming zeal. To judge from Holbein, the wisdom of the pagans was condemned in a manner worthy of the Catholicism that warred against the Hussites. The late M. Müntz has pointed out that Holbein, in his engraving entitled "Christus vera lux," places Plato and Aristotle in the company of the false teachers whom he hurls into the abyss—a sour judgment, and far from the mind of the mild Erasmus, who befriended the painter of Augsburg. For us, in an age whose art sympathies have got beyond the enmities of jarring creeds, the "School of Athens" cannot but receive the admiration its perfection of composition and urbanity of feeling deserve. Nevertheless, most observers will be grateful for the zeal of Overbeck,<sup>1</sup> who in modern times threw the light of his Catholic and romantic enthusiasm on to the faded fresco opposite, and called on the criticism of Europe to pause again before it. The appeal of the "School of Athens" is great for the minds that have passed some time with those revealed in classical literature. Yet there are a poetry and tenderness of feeling in the "Disputa" which, despite its artistic shortcomings, sound perhaps a deeper chord in the

<sup>1</sup> See his enthusiastic letter to his father of the year 1810.

hearts of those that journey to the hearth of Christian art. Not without reason did Janssen, in a letter of 1864, suggest that the "School of Athens" would be more properly called the "Disputa," as throughout it divergence reigns ; whereas for the fresco opposite, in which everything hinges on a central point, "Concord" would be the more appropriate name.<sup>1</sup>

While Apollo presides as a statue over the assemblage of Greek sages gathered under the vaulted roof of an imaginary temple, 'he appears as a "present deity" on the mountain-top that grew by the painter's skill and invention round the square window frame, which invades uncompromisingly the pictorial area of the fresco known as the "Parnassus." But its intrusion is forgotten when the discourtesy of time is thought away, and the observer lives for a while in that "sweet society" where "blind Melesigenes" chants to the sisters nine, to the attentive Virgil, and the figure in red whom he led through the circles of woe. And Apollo the while plays the "viol obbligato," seconding the tale of his servant Homer. A happy chance that the latter should be placed near the poet Dante. The one sang the ordering of the Greek gods, as the other laid down the track of salvation for the Chris-

<sup>1</sup> See Pastor, iii. p. 769, for a conspectus of the varying views entertained as to the "School of Athens."



PARNASSUS

*Fresco in the Vatican Stanze*

UNIV. OF MICH.



tian soul. But why a viol, it is interjected, in the hands of the god of the classic lyre? Well, some say it was the instrument specially favoured by the improvisatore Giacomo Sansecondo, whose face Raphael was thought to have used as a model in drawing the god's. Without going so far about, perhaps it is enough to suggest that the action of the arm in playing with the bow has more attraction for the draughtsman than when thrumming the strings of a harp. Raphael was acquainted with the activity of the god as Apollo Citharoedus, and represents his statue with a lyre in the adjacent fresco of the "School of Athens"; so, if he erred, it was not by oversight: and Pindar, Sappho, and the Muses will not censure the painter's choice of a finer instrument<sup>1</sup>—those Muses that had waited long until Raphael's art withdrew from them the thick veil of the ages of darkness. Two of them, perhaps, have some reason to complain that the painter has not made the most of their appearance. The figures at the side of Apollo show some constraint in their symmetrical attitudes. Much debate there has been as to who are meant to appear in this hymn to the spirit of poetry, and

<sup>1</sup> It appears also in a sixteenth-century plaque in the British Museum on the subject of Apollo and Midas.

such names are mentioned as Corinna, Horace, Petrarch, Ariosto, Sannazzaro, Tebaldeo. But in a picture like this archæology and historical detail claim no strict observance. Yet it seems of artistic interest to add that the head of Homer bears some resemblance to that of the Laocoön, and that the noted study in the Albertina collection, known as Calliope, was based on the antique statue of Ariadne, formerly called Cleopatra. Otherwise it is judicious to pass by side issues such as these, and to treat the fresco as an open-air idyll full of grace and light-heartedness, reminiscent of some gathering of a summer eve in an Italian garden or pleasance such as Boccaccio knew, or some such idealised scene as Costa gives in his picture in the Louvre of the court of Ferrara, or, in a later age, a *fête champêtre* by Watteau. Surely the painter was happy when he wrought these boughs and Heliconian source, this chanting bard and music-making god. As a poet of the North felt in gazing at an ancient vase, so the spectator in front of this fresco might also find himself rapt by "ditties of no tone," and, with the poet, exclaim—

"Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter."

In the decayed fresco round the awkwardly

situated window opposite Raphael placed allegorical figures indicating the qualities that should be present in the breast of a judge, viz., Fortitude with lion, and the oak branch appropriate to a period of Della Rovere rule, a figure that appears to have some relation to that of Fortitude in the Cambio at Perugia; Prudence in the centre with two faces, the one in front youthful, that behind aged and bearded, and a mirror; Temperance with a bridle, and a genius that points upward. In this fresco Raphael departs from the method of representation in the other wall-paintings of this room. Instead of an assembly of legislators in extension of the theme set down in the medallion of Jurisprudence, he took what might fairly be regarded as a historical event typical of his subject, viz., the delivery of the Pandects by the Emperor Justinian to Tribonianus, Theophilus, and Dorotheus. While he thus emphasises the temporal authority of Jurisprudence, he delineates Gregory IX., with the features of Julius II., in the act of promulgating the Decretals as enforcing the claim of the Church to legislative authority. Along with the portrait of the reigning Pope are shown the portraits of three cardinals, of whom two, if not all three, lived to wear the



papal tiara : an innovation for which he might plead the example of Masaccio. With this fresco has been judiciously compared one by Melozzo da Forlì representing Sixtus IV. appointing Platina to the office of Librarian to the Vatican.

An interesting feature in the decoration of the "Segnatura" was the woodwork, which must have given a special effect as setting to the frescoes. It was entrusted to the skilled hands of Fra Giovanni da Verona, who was summoned to co-operate by the Pope himself from Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri. Little of his work remains. But longer life was bestowed on the carvings of doors and window-shutters of this and the adjoining chambers. These carvings were executed by Giovanni Barile, and copies of them were made at a later time by Poussin as models for use in the Louvre. For the glass of the Vatican windows recourse was had to the skill of a Frenchman named Marcillat, some particulars of whom are given by Vasari.

Raphael, according to a date shown, would seem to have accomplished his difficult and varied task of adorning the ceiling and walls of the Segnatura some time before November in the year 1511. In a comparatively short

time he not only gained command over such difficult branches of art as drawing and grouping, but coped successfully with the no slight mechanical obstacles fronting the frescoist, and acquired great speed and sureness of hand. M. Raymond Balze, as quoted by the late M. Eugène Müntz, gives on this head some interesting particulars of the method pursued by the painter. He first drew from nature, by preference with red, the figures he purposed to introduce into his compositions, and then, squaring them to scale, transferred them to canvas, or to the enlarged sheet or cartoon. This cartoon was pricked with the needle. The pricked outline in its turn was pounced with charcoal on to a wall or panel. When the design was thus indicated it was made definite or amended by the artist's brush. This part of the work Raphael generally performed, and in doing it sometimes modified the primary design. But this procedure was only part of what had to be accomplished. The treatment of the wall surface made it necessary that early in the morning the mason should prepare the plaster, beginning at the upper part so that the water should not run over parts already dry. With an iron stylus the outlines of the pounced design were traced on the

fresh plaster. This done, Raphael began to paint, starting with the high lights, and endeavouring to paint during the same day those portions of a group or figure that were to appear of the same value, so as to avoid the break in tone that might be caused by any interruption. From the edges of each day's fresco work, which were bevelled so that the plaster applied in the morning might adhere to that used the day before, it is possible to form some idea of the rate of progress. In the "Incendio del Borgo" the large group to the left of four figures larger than life was painted in a week. In the case of the "School of Athens" each figure took less than a day. Sometimes, the plaster being too wet when beginning work in the architectural parts, deep cracks would result. In the "Parnassus" the sky is done in fresco, while the laurels are coloured in tempera, which comes off at a touch. In the "Galatea" of the Farnesina the demarcations between different parts of the fresco make it clear that the composition took from twelve to fifteen days. According to Heath Wilson, Raphael adhered in the "Disputa" to early practice. The dark purple robe, for instance, of Cardinal Bonaventura is spread over a preparation of red. But

in the "School of Athens" he painted directly on the damp intonaco. In the latter work the fading of the blue has thrown the tints out of harmony. Raphael allowed his pupils much latitude in executing his designs. After his death they went further, and on one of the walls of the Hall of Constantine began to paint in oil.<sup>1</sup> Of this experiment an ecclesiastical connoisseur wrote: "The pupils of Raphael have executed a specimen of a figure in oil on the wall, which is a beautiful work of art, so much so that no one would look at the rooms painted by Raphael in fresco." An indication this how soon the favourites of a court are forgotten, and how little it was understood just at this time that fresco-painting is ancillary to architecture, with which it should seek to harmonise itself. To the tectonic spirit of Michelangelo the individual, self-dependent nature of oil-painting was alien, and the words are well known in which he contemned the practice of the art.

As to the scale on which Raphael was paid for his labours in the decoration of the Stanze, some indication is to be derived from the amount he received from Leo X. for his work in the hall of the "Incendio del Borgo," which

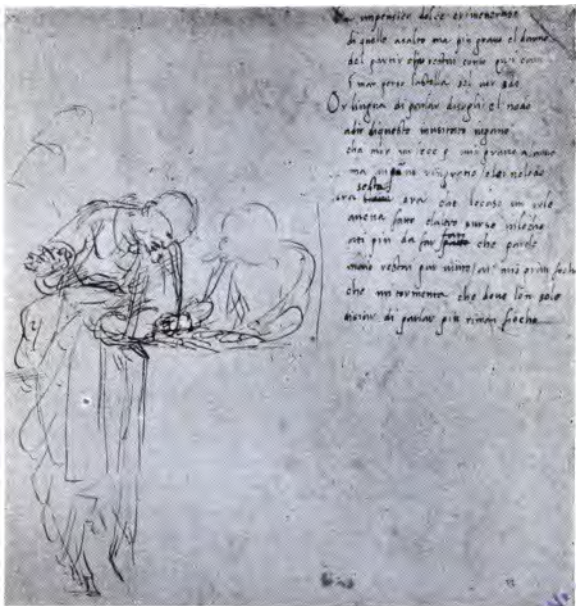
<sup>1</sup> This proceeding may be what is referred to in Vasari's *Life of Giulio Romano*.

is recorded to have been 1,200 ducats. As Julius was not a lavish patron, it may have been less than this he got for the frescoes of the Segnatura. Leo X. did not rate his artists' talents too highly, seeing what large sums he paid for mere curiosities, such as the horn of a narwhal, or a German clock, and musical instruments. Even in those palmy days of humanism, it is to be feared that the artist, however eminent, had begun to hold a somewhat ambiguous position. The spontaneous enthusiasm of a whole city which in early days fired the population of Siena to declare a public holiday on the completion by Duccio of his Madonna, and to carry the picture in procession, was hardly likely, in the changed circumstances of Italy, to be repeated. Art still ministered to the Church, but its intimate relation to the popular life was ceasing. The orders of a patron had to be obeyed, though sometimes the artist rebelled inwardly. Was not the youthful Michelangelo set to make a snow figure for the entertainment of the Medici ruler of Florence and his friends, and in later life obliged by the imperious Julius to take up fresco-painting and drop the practice of sculpture, which he esteemed more highly? What must his feelings have been

when Julius on one occasion declared in his presence that he would not spend a farthing either on little or on big building-stones? Shortly after the Pope ordered a new tiara at a cost of nearly half a million! Raphael was of a more pliant disposition, but even he could not have felt zealous when Leo X. commissioned him to apply his powers to such an inappropriate task as the pictorial perpetuation of a large and popular elephant, an incident that in itself rather discounts the strength of Vasari's tale as to the Pope's intention to bestow on his favourite painter a cardinal's hat.

While Raphael was working at the "Disputa" it would seem that his thoughts did not run altogether in one channel. On the backs of drawings for that fresco, and for this reason attributed to the period of its composition, are drafts of love poems, being apparently a brief attempt at verse-making, a side to his personality which might have been expected to be more extensive in the son of Giovanni Santi. Of one of these poems, a sonnet, the lines appear on part of a sheet preserved in the British Museum; another version, according to Passavant, being in the Musée Fabre of Montpellier. Along with a variant version from a sketch by Raphael to be found

in the Albertina, the verses are given in the late Mr. L. Fagan's pamphlet published in 1884. The Museum sheet is part of the Cracherode collection bequeathed to the Trustees in 1799. It shows sketches, one of which appears to be made for the figure sometimes referred to as Boethius, in the left side of the foreground of the "Disputa." Evidently the painter had not often frequented the paths of Parnassus, and wished to be thrifty with his rhymes, of which in one of his drafts he has noted down several, such as "polo," "solo," "volo," "luce," "conduce," "reduce," "sano," "vano," presumably with the intention of using them later on. The purport of the sonnet in the British Museum is the well-worn one, the pain of a lover when separated from the object of his affection. The writer declares that he is feeling like a starless mariner, and laments that he was tonguetied at an hour favourable for deeds. In the Montpellier version, and some lines preserved at the University of Oxford, he speaks of being enchained by a sparkling eye, a skin of snow and rosy cheeks, a woman of dainty ways and delicate speech, in the bondage of whose white arms he felt happy; and declares further that all his thoughts were veiled like those of Paul when he descended from heaven. And to this



STUDY OF FIGURE FOR THE DISPUTA; WITH SONNET  
*Drawing in the British Museum*





day a veil that has not been lifted lies over the name and history of the fair Roman whose beauty stirred the painter to these essays in an art he had not mastered.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1511 the fortune of war turned against the bold and subtle-scheming Pontiff. He lost Bologna, which, next to

<sup>1</sup> There are versions in English, French, and German in the late Mr. Fagan's brochure, in which it is remarked that Raphael's poetical attempts were contemporaneous with Albert Dürer's. As transcribed, with other sonnets by Raphael, into modern Italian by H. Grimm (*Leben Raphael's*, 1886, p. 500), the lines run:—

“Un pensier dolce è rimenbrare il modo  
di quello assalto, ma più grave è'l danno  
del partir, ch' io restai como quei ch' hanno  
in mar perso la stella, se'l ver odo.  
Or lingua di parlar disciogli el nodo,  
a dir di questo inusitato inganno  
ch' amor mi fece per mio grave affanno :  
ma lui pur ne ringrazio, e lei ne lodo.  
L'ora sesta <sup>(1)</sup> era, che l' occaso un sole  
aveva fatto, e l'altro surse in loco,  
atto più da far fatti <sup>(2)</sup> che parole ;  
Ma io restai pur vinto al mio gran foco  
che mi tormenta ; chè dove l' uom suole  
disiar di parlar, più riman fioco.”

In the Museum sheet the words marked <sup>(1)</sup> and <sup>(2)</sup> were altered from *stera* and *patto*. At the end of the first verse the Abate P. A. Rolli supplied “godo” instead of “modo,” and “godo” is repeated by Passavant. The sonnet, as read by Rolli, was first published by Jonathan Richardson, in 1772, in an account of works of art in Italy.

Rome, was the chief jewel in the papal political system. There the citizens rejoiced to be ruled once more by their old leaders, the Bentivogli, and gleefully they pulled down Michelangelo's great bronze statue of Julius, the metal into which the toil of the sculptor had breathed life and character going to the foundry to be cast into a cannon, called satirically the "Julia." In excuse for this reverse the Duke of Urbino and Cardinal Alidosi had each a tale to tell. But the latter had the ear of the Pope, who heaped reproaches on his nephew, the Duke. The enraged noble after his interview encountered the Cardinal, and, being in a state of fury, plunged a sword into him. Alidosi died an hour later, his last words being, "I bear the reward of my sins." This event was the cause of great grief to the Pope, who had for him an inexplicable fondness; but it brought great satisfaction to the papal circle, who held him in detestation. By June Julius was back in Rome, where he had to bend his mind to the countermining of the "conciliabulum" of Pisa, a "hole and corner" council set on foot against him by Louis XII. of France. With these political storm-clouds lowering over him, it is no wonder that he wears in the noted portrait Raphael executed about this time a look of



POPE JULIUS II

*Uffizi*



pondering and stern concentration. The painting was so lifelike, according to Vasari, that it made the beholder tremble, as if the "Pontefice terribile" himself were present. As is well known, there are two versions of this portrait, one in the Uffizi,<sup>1</sup> the other in the Pitti, the latter having a certain leaning to Venetian colouring, which marks it as less near the artist's mind and hand. The back of the papal chair is finished off in the shape of the acorn, doubtless a reference to the charge in the Della Rovere shield of the oak, in the shelter of which the Papacy for a time recovered its political hegemony in Italy. Possibly, as a result of his anxieties, Julius fell ill, to the encouragement of domestic enemies in Rome. But the tenacity of his mind and body was still too great to give way even under such stress. He recovered from sickness, and when the French showed themselves unable, or unwilling, to profit by their victory of Ravenna in 1512, his diplomacy found the means to compel them to retire over the Alps.

In frescoes on the walls of the Stanza of Heliodorus Raphael recorded the political

<sup>1</sup> There is a reputed drawing at Chatsworth for the portrait of Julius. Of the Uffizi picture it is known that it passed from the Rovere family into the possession of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany. The National Gallery replica seems more related to that in the Pitti.

triumphs of the author of the Holy League. But the subject of one of them, and the one which is, perhaps, the most interesting, and was probably begun soon after the completion of the frescoes in the "Segnatura," is, like the "Disputa," of a theological cast, and is devoted to the presentment of a special revelation of the dogma of the Real Presence. Those that have visited the hill-town of Orvieto, once the papal City of Refuge, will remember the occasion of the building of the cathedral there, the Gothic fane of Lorenzo Maitani, so noted for being adorned with the sculptures of Arnolfo and of Giovanni Pisano. This occasion was the miracle of the year 1263, which happened in the small church of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena. The officiating priest there, a German, who had felt some doubt as to the dogma of transubstantiation, was suddenly overcome with the conviction of its truth by the appearance of drops of blood, which flowed from the Host and stained the corporal at the moment of utterance of the consecrating word. In commemoration of the miracle Pope Urban IV. instituted in 1264 the festival of Corpus Christi, and the first stone of the cathedral of Orvieto was laid in 1290. The encouragement, by the grant of indulgences, of the worship of



THE MASS OF BOLSENA  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanze*

OF MIC  
2/1/65





the relic of Bolsena was the subject of the bull of Sixtus IV. of the year 1477. The choice of this incident of ecclesiastical history for pictorial record in the Vatican was due, perhaps, to Julius himself, who, it would seem, visited the rock-hewn chapel of Bolsena on the 7th of September, 1506, in the course of his campaign against Bologna. A passage in the Diary of Paris de Grassis, the Master of Ceremonies, runs: "Vesperis finitis Papa cum alba more solito vestitus et in gestatorio cum cappello ad ecclesiam S. Mariae delatus apud altare benedixit. Primo enim adoravit corporale sanguine Christi aspersum . . ."—words that lend support to the suggestion that Julius made a vow or resolution at this time, and remembered it in the dark days of 1511-12, when Raphael was set to work to depict the miracle on the wall of the Stanza of Heliodorus.<sup>1</sup> Though confronted again with the difficulty of composing in a space intruded on by a square window-frame, not in the middle of the wall, he has overcome it with much cleverness. At one side of the altar the hesitating priest, pondering the miracle, holds the corporal and gazes at the wafer, while a Pope, with the features of Julius, kneeling in prayer on the

<sup>1</sup> L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, iii., 1895, p. 798.

other side of the altar, watches him with a glance of reproof. Among the figures of the folk in the larger side of the fresco those of the Swiss Papal Guards give much variety to the scene. To judge by their expression, they hardly appear to be aware of what has just happened at the altar. But their reddish hair and faces, along with their attire of green, white, red, and yellow, furnished elements of contrast of which the painter gladly took advantage.<sup>1</sup> For the mellow tonality of this composition it is likely that he owed something to his acquaintance with the work of Sebastian del Piombo, not yet his rival and disparager, who possessed a share of the "golden touch" of Giorgione. Possibly he had seen and borrowed from the tones of the frescoes by Titian in the Scuola del Santo at Padua. It was ever easy for Raphael when he found a talent to put it out at interest. More especially was this the case when he borrowed from Venetian art. From early practice in the style of Perugino he gained a share in the Umbrian "privacy"

<sup>1</sup> Julius owed much to the prowess of the Swiss mountaineers. As Papal Guards some of them were seen in Rome in 1506. In 1523, according to a Venetian document, the tints of their uniform were white, green, and yellow. In 1512 the Swiss were officially styled "*Defensores ecclesiasticæ libertatis*."

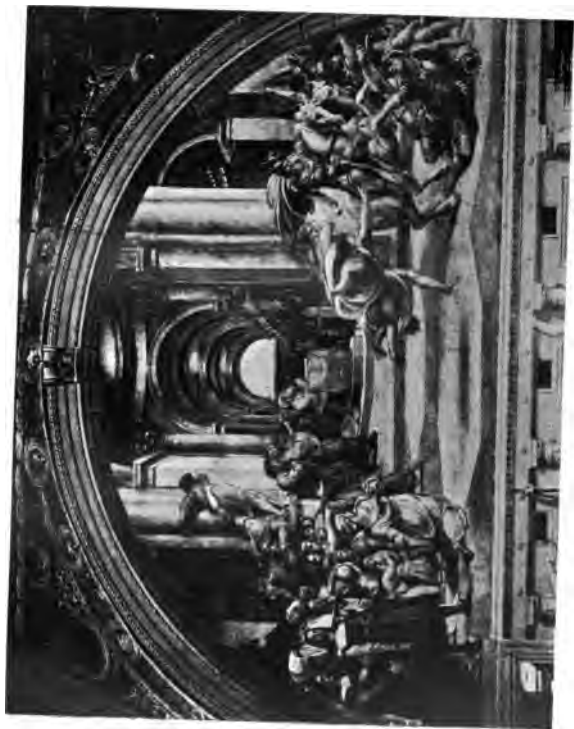
of mellow light and air, and a claim to occupy a position intermediate between the school of Venice and that of Florence. But the latter, as culminating in Michelangelo, gained, and it is perhaps to be regretted, his final allegiance.

Connected with the sober tone of the portrait of Julius in the fresco of the Mass of Bolsena, an anecdote is recorded worth repeating. It appears that someone in the papal entourage blamed the painter for it, and contrasted the features of the Pope in the fresco with the warmer tints of the papal countenance in the fresco opposite, in which Julius is represented as being carried by bearers in his *Sedia Gestatoria*. The painter was quite right to mark the difference, said Marco Antonio Colonna. In the fresco of the Mass the Holy Father was engaged in worship, and it was decorous that he should be painted in sober hues ; whereas in the fresco of Heliodorus he was painted as returning from the Belvedere, flushed after drinking (*molto più colorito*). The Pope, it is said, was well disposed towards a certain strong, thick wine, made, perhaps, from grapes grown in Corsica or Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Klaczko, p. 299, quoting from book by Lodovico Domenichi, 1584.

In the Mass of Bolsena the face of the young "sacerdos teutonicus" has suffered from injury to the surface of the fresco, and from the retouches of a seventeenth-century restorer, Carlo Maratta. Hence, perhaps, the absence of the look of confusion and terror noted by Vasari. The architectural setting of this subject is on a grandiose scale little resembling the small, poor chapel of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena. The style of the new St. Peter's building hard by exercised the "dominant's persistence" on the art of Raphael and his successors. He has contrived by contrasting architectural features to turn the arch of the lunette in the wall into a valuable member of this fine composition.

If "God reveals Himself in many ways" is the purport of the "Mass of Bolsena," that He may be trusted to intervene for the protection of His Church is the lesson to be read in the famous fresco of the "Expulsion of Heliodorus," a work which has echoed down the corridors of time. Unlike the decorative scheme of the Segnatura, which is a gracious poem, an epiphany of mediæval sacred and profane knowledge, the art of Raphael in this Stanza, though dramatic and striking, moves at a lower level. The painter is confined within a



OF MICHAEL  
ANGEL

THE EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanza*



## INTENTION OF THE HELIODORUS 99

narrower sphere. Classical subjects are not admitted, and the spectator breathes the less liberal atmosphere of the temporal triumphs of the Church, or, rather, of the rule of two Popes. Even in prescribing to the painter the history of the Papacy, Julius and Leo seem, in their choice of subjects, to have omitted some of its grander passages, and to have leaned unduly to the fleeting politics and personalities of their own age. In the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" Raphael's intention was to record the triumph of Julius over domestic aggression on the dominions of St. Peter ; unless, perhaps, is to be read in it a reference to the failure of the conference of separatist Cardinals. As the doctrine of the Real Presence forms a link of connection between the "Disputa" and the "Mass of Bolsena," so similarly the miraculous intervention of the Deity supplies a *trait-d'union* between the "Mass of Bolsena" and the "Expulsion of Heliodorus"; not to mention the more obvious one provided by the presence of Julius, regardless of chronology, in both frescoes.

The story of Heliodorus is taken from the Second Book of Maccabees in the Apocrypha. It appears from that narrative that the Temple of Jerusalem, beside its sacred purpose, served



as a Bank of Deposit,<sup>1</sup> and contained money laid up for widows and children to the amount of 400 talents of silver and 200 of gold. On this treasure the Syro-Greek king, Seleucus Philopator, instigated by Simon, the Governor of the Temple, thought to lay hands, and despatched his agent Heliodorus to Jerusalem for the purpose. To the horror of the priests and the people Heliodorus proceeded to carry out the royal decree. But when he was in the temple, with his guard about the treasure, the "Lord of spirits and the Prince of all power caused a great apparition so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid. For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sate upon the horse had a complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength and excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him

<sup>1</sup> Judging by the record in the New Testament as to the ejection of the money-changers and sellers of doves, the commercial uses of the Temple grew afterwards more extensive.

many sore stripes. And Heliodorus fell suddenly to the ground, and was compassed with great darkness ; but they that were with him took him up and put him into a litter." <sup>1</sup>

The dramatic character of this narrative and of Raphael's representation is conspicuous. It will be noticed that the artist boldly welds into one its successive scenes. The indignation of the two Israelites at the approach of the hated gentiles, the prayer of the High Priest, the removal of the treasure, the expulsion by the angels of Heliodorus and his guards, and the exultation of the women spectators are all represented in the one space as simultaneous events.<sup>2</sup> In the Master's age, however, the time-sense was probably not much developed, else it would have been more difficult for him to introduce into a scene from ancient and sacred history the figure of Julius II., who appears in his *sedia gestatoria* borne by bearers, and accompanied by contemporary personages. One of these latter is inscribed

<sup>1</sup> By the prayerful intercession of Onias, the High Priest, it is related that, after offering sacrifice to the Lord, Heliodorus recovered—to become in B.C. 175 the murderer of his royal master, Seleucus.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the representation of various events in the same picture given in Botticelli's Sistine fresco of the Story of Moses.

as Giovanni Pietro Folcari da Cremona, for a long time mistakenly supposed to have been Papal Secretary of Petitions. Of the bearers one chances to resemble Albert Dürer. They are thought to be portraits of the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi and of the youthful Giulio Romano. But probabilities are more in favour of the suggestion that the portrait of the younger man was taken from Baldassare Peruzzi, who was on friendly terms with Raphael, and, like him, of an amiable disposition; and whose ornamentation may be seen in the framework of the medallions of biblical subjects on the ceiling of this Stanza. The painter's skill is shown perhaps most notably in the figures attendant on the horseman. They seem to be almost classic demi-gods, to impersonate the passions of hate and anger, the force of swift and powerful movement, and yet to retain a Raphaelesque grace that befits the agents of a divine vengeance. The empty space in the foreground of the composition is unusual and somewhat marked. It is important, however, as denoting the sweeping movement of the celestial messengers, and serves to interpose an interval between the scattered troop of despoilers and the unmoved figures of the Pope and his cortège. In the calm aspect of Julius is

portrayed his satisfaction at the defeat of his enemies. Had he been placed by the painter nearer the horseman it would have been hard for observers to avoid the idea that he and his retinue were engaged in the action represented.

A detail to be noticed is the group of two animated figures on the side of the column. In these Herr Voege finds another instance of a motive borrowed from the Paduan reliefs of Donatello before mentioned. In this fresco Raphael's style generally announces the transition to that which is seen more fully developed in the cartoons for the Sistine tapestries. And this is the less surprising in that he left much of the work on these to his assistants. In looking at this now decayed fresco of the "Expulsion of Heliodorus," the red tones, for instance, are observable which mark the work of his favourite, the young Giulio Romano. Possibly, too, by Giovanni da Udine, who, born in the Venetian region, had lately come from Giorgione's workshop, something was here contributed.

Regard being had to the main thread of the subject set down for the decoration of this chamber, it is likely that the "Liberation of St. Peter" should next claim consideration. This work, which had also to be composed in the space round the top of a window, contains

three episodes. It represents St. Peter in captivity, sleeping on the ground, and chained by the neck, hands, and feet. Sleeping also are the two guards. Awakened by the angel, the saint drops his fetters and, led by his heavenly visitant, is shown on the right in the act of escaping. On the left a soldier with a lighted torch arouses three warders. This picture is celebrated for its study—hardly to be looked for in a fresco—of the effect of contrasted lights and shadows, and for its attempt to render simultaneous torchlight, moonshine, and miraculous radiance. Nowhere else has the Master aimed at a moonlight effect, which in later art became a familiar subject. Was it due to the collaboration of Giovanni da Udine, or the suggestion of Sebastiano del Piombo? The latter had not yet become antagonistic to the Pope's favourite painter. The Venetian school were practised in the study of such effects. Titian tried a moonlight effect in his "St. Jerome"; and, in his "Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo," combines with a heavenly beam, seen at night, lights from a fire and from pans of burning pitch. Of Raphael's fresco Vasari declares: "So far as concerns the imitation of night, painting has produced no work more divine, or more generally esteemed." The



THE LIBERATION OF ST. PETER  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanze*



subject is usually supposed to refer to an event in the life of Leo X., when Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici. But Grimm long since noticed that Julius II., before he became Pope, was Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli. In June, 1512, a festival was held in Rome to celebrate the retirement of the French forces from Italy. Pastor suggests that Raphael might have been charged with the superintendence of the ceremonies, and that the brilliance of the illuminations suggested to the painter novel experimentation in pictorial effects. But this is so hypothetical as to suggest the warning, "Be not wise above that which is written."

The other large and important fresco in this chamber belongs strictly to the reign of the next Pope, Leo X., who appears in it both as Cardinal and as Pope. He was probably introduced in it as Leo the Great by his own order, or else the courtly painter's initiative was responsible. In a drawing at Oxford, bearing on the subject of the "Meeting of St. Leo and Attila," the Pope, borne in his *sedes gestatoria*, has the features of Julius II. Doubtless the choice of this event for representation was due to the warlike Pontiff. In a Louvre drawing the Pope and his escort do not appear as principal actors, but as small



figures that are coming from a distance to find that the "Scourge of God" is already retreating, being alarmed at the sight in the sky of St. Peter and St. Paul with swords drawn. Afterwards the painter preferred to represent the Pope as emboldened by the intervention of the saints from above to face the terrible Hun. Leo is shown mounted on his white palfrey, which, as Cardinal, he had ridden when the tide of war was raging round Ravenna. The personages round him are evidently portraits, and in this part of the picture there is little attempt at anything like dramatic action. There is more vigour in the representation of the confusion into which the fierce chieftain's cavalry have fallen, while the flying standards of the barbarian host and the smoke from burning houses help to realise what was meant by the phrase, "terrible as an army with banners." The drawing of the horses is not of impressive quality. Compared with those of fierce vitality depicted in Leonardo's cartoon, though this is known only at second-hand, these quadrupeds of Raphael's drawing, or designing, are almost lacking in equine characteristics. It will be seen that the landscape is moved from the Mincio nearer Rome. The painter has put into it the Colosseum, the

arches of an aqueduct, and the mountains of the Campagna, and some details of armour he seems to have borrowed from the sculptures on the column of Trajan. Inasmuch as Julius II. initiated the decorative scheme in the Stanza of Heliodorus, it is easy to surmise that the Huns he had in his mind were the French forces that had been driven from Lombardy, at that time the cockpit of Europe. In this worldly struggle between Louis XII. and the occupant of the Holy See the latter was not alone in calling in the aid of the arts. For in 1512 the French king had a medal struck bearing the legend "Perdam Babylonem." Whereon the Pope also resorted to the art of the medallist, and had one produced showing himself riding a horse which tramples under foot the shield of France. Well would it have been if the feud between these rulers had been fought out altogether in this emblematic manner, and Italy been spared the horrors of armed conflict.

In the ceiling of the Stanza of Heliodorus there are medallions, nearly perished, containing biblical subjects, viz. "God Appearing to Noah," the "Sacrifice of Abraham," "Jacob's Dream," and the "Burning Bush." These representations are in a form suggestive of designs

worked in tapestry, and strongly influenced by the style of Michelangelo. Professor Wickhoff and Dr. H. Dollmayr were disposed to attribute them to Baldassare Peruzzi. But their developed Raphaelesque character is hardly consistent with the date of 1508-9. Possibly Raphael left undisturbed in this chamber Peruzzi's framework for these medallions and other ornamentation as he had left ornamental details by Sodoma in the Segnatura. The designs in these medallions, which are taken from the Old Testament, do not, like those in similar position in the Segnatura, serve as clues to the subjects treated on the walls, a circumstance possibly that indicates a conflict of ideas as to the decoration of this particular chamber. Raphael had by practice gained freedom and confidence since he had started with the medallions of the Segnatura and the fresco of the "Disputa." But in this Stanza of Heliodorus there are signs that he felt terribly at ease in an official Zion, and had lost somewhat of the warmth of feeling that "flushes all the cheek" when a young artist grasps a large idea, and has the power and means to actualise it in a manner proportionate to his conception.

Before turning to the many other works on which Raphael was engaged at the period of

his labours in the Vatican, it is of interest to note that the frescoes in the Segnatura and the Stanza of Heliodorus, which mark, perhaps, the apogee of Raphael's genius as composer and narrator, suffered great injury only a few years after his decease. The German and Spanish barbarians that mainly formed the army of Charles V. under Bourbon's command sacked Rome in 1527, thus retorting on Clement VII. the insults Pope Julius had lavished on the French, and on this occasion the Stanza of Heliodorus was greatly damaged. For in it some of the Imperial troops encamped, and the smoke of the fires they made—though it was the month of May—was most injurious to the frescoes. According to Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo*, Titian, when he visited the Stanze, noticed that some of the figures had been injured in their restoration by Sebastian del Piombo, who accompanied the great Venetian on this occasion and could have little enjoyed the outspoken condemnation his work obtained. And the seventeenth century brought with it the energetic restorer, Carlo Maratta, whose zeal was not according to discretion. He set his apprentices to fill up holes in the lower part of the walls where designs in grisaille had been painted, and to clean the frescoes themselves

with white bread and Greek wine. Though Rome murmured at such heroic restoration, Pope Innocent XI. blessed the work, and it was allowed to go on. In later times there was probably further retouching, but of a kind less public and pronounced.

During these years, 1508 to 1513, which witnessed Raphael's advance from the secondary rank he held in Florence to the generally acknowledged superiority he gained over his compeers in Rome, always excepting that solitary genius Michelangelo, he found time to execute other commissions besides the monumental fresco-work required of him as Painter in Ordinary at the Vatican. From Florence he had doubtless brought an established reputation for varied and graceful treatment of the Madonna and Child motive, and in Rome was soon tempted to extend it. In a long-noted picture with this theme he represented the Christ Child waking and stretching out both arms to His mother, while St. Joseph stands near leaning on a staff. It was executed for Cardinal Riario, and placed in the favourite church of Julius II., Sta. Maria del Popolo, where it remained until later than 1615, and whence it was removed to Loreto. It was presented to the treasury of that church by

## VIERGE AU DIADÈME, ETC. 111

Girolamo Lottorio, and became known as the "Madonna di Loreto." In later times it disappeared, and, save a vague rumour about the middle of the last century, nothing further about it has been heard. Somewhat similar in treatment is the Louvre picture, the "Vierge au diadème," or "Vierge au linge," which is also called the "Vierge au voile," the veil, which is yellow, being shown as escaping from beneath a blue diadem. In this work classical ruins are introduced, the Pantheon being visible in the distant background. The painter doubtless had not lived long in Rome without observing with vigilant eye the then more numerous remains of antiquity to be found exposed *in situ*, and soon acquired the fashionable taste for classical archæology. The little St. John and the Bambino appear in a more lively pose in the "Aldo-brandini Madonna" of the National Gallery, a picture which was sold by Mr. Day for £1,500, and in 1865 was purchased by the Trustees from Lord Garvagh for £9,000. The face of the model to whom the painter went for it was of the Roman type. The bright tone as of a "picture on porcelain" is foreign to the style of the author of the Foligno and San Sisto Madonnas. It suggests the colouring of Giulio Romano, to whom the Louvre picture just men-

tioned is thought to have owed something, if its colder colouring be not more justly referred to Francesco Penni. The pose of the Virgin in the Aldobrandini picture has caused some comment, inasmuch as the folds of her dress are not such as to convey the impression that enough space has been allowed for her limbs.<sup>1</sup>

Reminiscent of Raphael's Florentine treatment of this subject, both in its composition and "tondo" form, is the "Madonna di casa d'Alba" of the Hermitage, a picture which was once in the possession of the Duke of Alva at Madrid, and was sold by W. G. Coesvelt to the Czar in 1836 for £14,000.<sup>2</sup> In this instance the Virgin is seated in a meadow, and leans against the trunk of an oak. The children and their attitude, and the face of the Virgin, who holds a book, have something familiar, but the style in which her robe is treated and the carefully drawn sandal point to the influence of classical sculpture on the painter's tastes. Related to this work there are in the Wicar collection two sketches in red chalk, from which it would seem that he drew a sketch for it from a male model, except as regards the head, which has some affinity to

<sup>1</sup> G. Frizzoni, *Rinascimento*, 1891, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> So Passavant and Gruyer; larger sums are stated by Bode and by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

## MADONNA DELLA SEDIA 113

that of the St. Catharine. On the back of the sheet containing this study is a similar one, and beside it a sketch of a mother and child, which appears to be the suggestion of the ever-popular "Madonna della Sedia" (or "Seggiola"). This warmly toned work was probably painted about the same time as the frescoes of the Stanza of Heliodorus. It was on exhibition in Florence in 1539, and was included in the Medici Catalogue of 1589. In copies of many kinds the fine features of this Roman girl have been carried to the ends of the earth. Of this period probably, though the date is disputed, is the "Madonna del divino amore" of the Naples Museum, of which there is a good copy in the Palazzo Borghese. Here the child sits riding on the knee of His mother, and has His right arm partly supported by the elder saint, probably St. Anne. With two fingers raised He blesses the little St. John, a devotional note in the picture that is emphasised by the prayerful attitude of the Virgin. Indeed in this, as in the "Vierge au diadème" and the "Madonna di casa d'Alba," Raphael discloses a tendency to revert to the older and more ecclesiastical conception, which makes the Christ Child, as it were, the focus of the composition. Something, too, must be allowed for



the circumstance that they were commissioned as dedication pictures. And it may be, also, that after living for some time in the Roman atmosphere of ecclesiastical "glories, pleasures, pomps, delights and ease," the tone of his feeling insensibly changed. In the finished pictures of his earlier Roman period he seems to drop the naturalism he acquired in Florence, and shows himself possessed by a sentiment which, in another connection, might well be called unction.

A work of higher flight than these is the "Madonna di Foligno," which was commissioned in 1511 by Sigismondo de' Conti, Papal Chamberlain. He was a native of Foligno, and of enough note to appear in Giovanni Santi's poem earlier mentioned. Having narrowly escaped death from a bursting shell, or, it may be, some natural phenomenon such as a fireball, he wished to commemorate the event by presenting an altar-piece to the Conti Chapel in the Franciscan church of the Ara Coeli. There this impressive picture remained for many years, until, by desire of the donor's niece, a nun, it was removed to Foligno.<sup>1</sup> De' Conti himself

<sup>1</sup> It was carried off to Paris in 1797, and while there was transferred to canvas, a process of which an



MADONNA DI PALMA

*Vatican Gallery*



could have seen little of this effort of the Master's genius, for he died in 1512. He wrote, it may be added, a history of some importance, which was officially published in 1883. Raphael's work is composed of seven figures. The Virgin, enthroned on the clouds, looks down towards the donor of the picture, while the child glances at the *putto* beneath, who holds the label, and the drawing of whom is highly commended by Vasari. St. John the Baptist points upward to the Redeemer, while St. Francis looks upward in ecstasy. On the right St. Jerome presents De' Conti to Our Lady, and places his left hand on the strongly modelled head of the donor. Attendant on the Virgin and Child is a wreath of forms, delicately limned, a "bowery, flowery angel-brood," which melts into the mass of cloud. In the background Foligno is seen under a rainbow, a detail indicating the peaceful issue of the danger implied by the fireball. This altar-piece is one of the most excellent works the Master executed for votive purposes. The warmth and harmony of its colouring suggest almost some Venetian connection, to explain account is given by Guyton de Morveau in his *Rapport, etc.*, Paris, 1802. On its surrender by the French Government after the fall of Napoleon it was placed in the Vatican.

which the painter's acquaintance at this time with Sebastian del Piombo has been referred to.

Another altar-piece resembling this in ecclesiastical stamp and devotional feeling is the picture in Madrid of the "Madonna with the Fish," which represents the "affable archangel Raphael" introducing the young Tobias to the Mother of Grace and the Christ Child. The fish in the hand of Tobias refers to the cure of his father's blindness, the subject having been chosen as appropriate for a picture to be placed in S. Domenico, a church in Naples resorted to by persons suffering from diseases of the eyes. According to P. de Madrazo,<sup>1</sup> the attitude of the Child, who rests His hand on the book from which St. Jerome is reading, refers to the acceptance of the Book of Tobit as scriptural. From F. Palermo's *History of Naples*, quoted by Madrazo, it would seem that the Duke of Medina did not annex the picture for the adornment of his palace without meeting opposition. It was taken to Spain in 1644, and was afterwards placed in the Escorial. While in Paris at the beginning of last century it was transferred to canvas by Bonnemaïson.

<sup>1</sup> P. de Madrazo, *Catalogo de los cuadros . . . del Prado*, pt. 1, 1872, pp. 184-7.

The face and treatment of the "Madonna del Pesce" are akin to those in the "tondo" known as the "Madonna with the Candelabra," belonging to Sir John Charles Robinson, a picture which was brought from Italy in 1830-40 by the dealer Buchanan. A perhaps better repetition once belonged to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and afterwards to the Hon. H. Butler Johnstone, but neither of these can pass as more than fine works of Raphael's school. Another picture of questionable authenticity, in its present state, is the "Rogers Madonna," which came from the Orleans collection when that was sold during the first French Revolution. It was afterwards purchased by Mr. R. J. Mackintosh, and was on view in Manchester at the notable Exhibition of 1857. The Child in it appears in an attractive pose, nestling close to the Virgin. It has, however, lost its surface, and much of the colouring indicates the repainting of a later period. Other more or less familiar Madonnas are the "del Passeggio," in which the general composition may be Raphael's and has gained for it much favour; the "dell' Impannata" of the Pitti Palace, an altar-piece that takes its name from the oiled-paper window in the background; the "della Tenda" in Munich, of which the Royal Gallery in Turin

claims to have the original ; and others. To discuss these is to excite more controversy than conviction as to the relative shares in them of the painter and his school. A marked instance of such uncertainty attaching to some notable pictures is the portrait in Munich of the youthful connoisseur, Bindo Altoviti, a work which has experienced so much restoration as to leave in much doubt its claim to be from Raphael's hand. Another portrait, known from a reference to it in a letter by Castiglione, he painted from Federigo Gonzaga, of the House of Mantua. But of this picture, unfortunately, nothing more can be told. Another private commission which falls to be mentioned here is the fresco of "Isaiah" in the Church of Sant' Agostino, which was executed for the *bon-vivant* Bishop of Luxemburg, Johann Goritz, the "Gorycius Senex" of his literary acquaintances.<sup>1</sup> In connection with this fresco is told the story of Bramante's having surreptitiously introduced Raphael into the Sistine Chapel before the frescoes there were open to general inspection. It was in-

<sup>1</sup> There was some disagreement as to the charge for this fresco, and Raphael's claim was supported by Michelangelo. See Jon. Richardson's *Treatise on Painting*, vol. iii., p. 154.

vented, perhaps, to account for the Michel-angelesque character of the work, if any character can be attributed to a fresco which has so much suffered.

Pietro Aretino declared, with some truth and more spite, that Raphael drew men as gentlemen, while Michelangelo made them look like porters. But though the former's grace and urbanity contributed so much to the spread of his reputation, it must not be forgotten that his immediate vogue must have owed much to engraving, that younger sister in the household of art. Like so many others, the clever and unscrupulous Marcantonio Raimondi thought to push his fortune in Rome, where he arrived in 1510. He went there, perhaps, by way of Florence, in which city his celebrated engraving, known as "Les Grimpeurs," may have been executed after Michelangelo's cartoon of the "Surprise at Cascina." Raphael soon saw with what ability the Bolognese handled the burin, and collaborated with him to their mutual advantage. It is fortunate that the skill of Marcantonio was available for the reproduction of a number of Raphael's compositions which did not come to fruition as pictures, or else were modified in the process. Among the earlier of these are the engravings



of the "Poetry," "Philosophy," "Death of Dido," the "Judgment of Paris," "Lucretia," and the "Massacre of the Innocents"; the last-mentioned print not being free from the stiffness of the original attempt at the expression of vigorous action. The sale of Marcantonio's engravings was carried on by Baverio Carocci of Parma, and soon became profitable. Others followed the example of Marcantonio, and thus there ensued a diffusion in wide commonalty of the expressiveness and graceful contours of the Master of Urbino.

On All Saints' Day, 1512, the Pope visited the Sistine Chapel to view the work of Michelangelo, just then unveiled. Soon after he fell ill, a circumstance that must have interrupted the work of the artists engaged on the frescoes in the rooms adjoining the chamber in which the august invalid for some time used to give audience, until failing nature could hold out no longer. He grew worse through the winter of 1512, and on the night of the 20th February, 1513, breathed his last. The hardy warrior of Mirandola died lamented by the population of Rome, leaving in the treasury of the Church, in money and jewels, for his successor to lavish, 250,000 ducats, the fruit of careful frugality practised during years of

costly strife. This is not the place to attempt a summary of the character and career of Julius II. To Erasmus he seemed a weak old man who, at any cost, was prepared to turn the world upside down ; others saw in him a politic and courageous Churchman, who re-established the Papal States as the strong power of Central Italy. Only be it said that to the latter view must incline those interested in the history of art. The masterfulness of mind he displayed in urging the car of the Church through the press of rival powers seems akin to the haughty disposition that applied the fine arts to the service of himself and the Church. His scheme for a monument to surpass the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus miscarried, and destiny has dealt hardly with the temporal dominion of the Papacy. But his fame rests on firm foundations who called into being the Sistine frescoes of Michelangelo, and to a great artist gave an opportunity almost as great when he charged Raphael with the task of adorning the official habitation of the Holy See.

## CHAPTER IV

### WORKS OF LATER YEARS

Accession of Leo X.—Raphael's prosperity—Appointed architect of St. Peter's—Frescoes of "Galatea" and the "Sibyls"—His work as sculptor—Further frescoes in the Stanze—The Loggie—Cartoons for the Sistine tapestries—"Cupid and Psyche"—Portraits of Bibiena, Castiglione, and others—"St. Cecilia"—"Madonna di San Sisto"—"Vision of Ezekiel"—"La Perla"—"Lo Spasimo"—Portraits of Leo X. and Joanna of Aragon—"Holy Family of Francis I."—Large "St. Michael"—Raphael as Surveyor of ancient monuments—Rivalry of Sebastian del Piombo—The "Transfiguration"—Raphael's illness and death.

**W**HEN Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici became Pope in March, 1513, with the style of Leo X., the sway of the stern and unbending Julius was soon forgotten, and another face of things was seen at the Vatican. The great Sieneſe banker, Agostino Chigi, the Pierpont Morgan of his day, voiced the popular idea about Leo when he had inscribed on an arch, raised for the papal coronation, the lines—"Once Venus reigned, next Mars usurped the throne, Now Pallas calls these favoured seats her own."

The distich was true in a measure. Though Leo X. was addicted to luxury and enjoyment,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Godiamoci il papàto poichè Dio ci l'ha dato!" he is reputed to have exclaimed on learning of his accession.

he was fond of music, and showed the humanistic leanings of his family by the appointments he bestowed on the celebrated Pietro Bembo and on Bernardo Dovizio, as well as in his encouragement of Sadoletto and other literary notabilities. But as a patron of the artists he does not deserve unstinted praise, since he failed to honour the genius of Michelangelo, whom he set to work, despite protest, on the façade of S. Lorenzo in Florence, and whom he employed for years in the dreary mechanic tasks connected with the transport of marbles from Carrara ; and this at a time when the sculptor's mind was bent to the highest service of art, so that he pined to feel his great powers lodged with him useless. Leo doubtless preferred the more pliant disposition of Raphael, and set him to work on completing the Attila fresco in the Stanza of Heliodorus, which, to some extent modified to suit the vanity of the new Pontiff, was finished by August, 1514. That Raphael in this Stanza left much to the hands of assistants is probable from his having other calls on his time. Bramante, the papal architect, seems to have relied on Raphael for help in carrying out changes in the Borgo Nuovo, and when the "rovinante" died on March 11th, 1514, the painter was appointed to succeed him

as architect of St. Peter's. Relating to this stage in his career is a letter addressed to his uncle Simone Ciarla, the friend of his boyhood. It bears date 1st July, 1514, and runs :—

“Dearest in place of a father,—I have received your letter, which I am glad to get as it proves you are not vexed with me. You would have been truly wrong to be so, seeing how wearisome is writing when nothing of consequence has happened. Now there is something I am answering you in order to tell you everything I have to say without leaving anything out. Firstly, as to taking a wife. I tell you that, so far as she's concerned whom you would have had me marry some time since, I am quite content, and thank God constantly that I chose neither her nor another one. In that matter I have been wiser than you. I am sure now you too recognise that I should not be in the position I am in. At this moment in Rome I am worth 3,000 gold ducats, and get 50 gold ducats (a month). His Holiness, in consideration of my being chiefly in charge of the structure of St. Peter's, has allowed me a salary of 300 gold ducats, to continue so long as I live. I am sure to be earning more still, not to mention that I get paid for my work at my own valuation, and that I have begun to

paint another room for His Holiness, a commission that will amount to 1,200 gold ducats. So you see, dearest uncle, I am a credit to you, and my relatives, and to my native place. None the less I bear you always well in mind, and, if anyone mentions your name, I feel as if I heard my father named. Don't then complain of my not writing. I should have more right to complain of you, for you sit the whole day pen in hand, and let six months go by between one letter and the next. And yet you don't find me chiding you as you do me without cause. But I am forgetting the question of my marriage. To come back to it, I should like you to know that Santa-Maria-in-Portico<sup>1</sup> proposes I should take a relative of his, and that, with the leave of my uncle the priest and with your own, I have promised to do what His Eminence desired. I can't break my word, for we are more than ever on close terms. I shall soon report it all to you. Have patience with me until this advantageous match comes off—if it doesn't, I will fall in with your wishes. If Francesco Buffa has a girl in view for me, you may tell him I don't lack chances here. I know of a pretty girl in Rome, who, by what I have heard, is of very good reputation, and

<sup>1</sup> The title of Cardinal Bibiena.

whose people are prepared to give with her 3,000 gold crowns. I am living in Rome in my own house. And here you may take it for granted that 100 ducats are worth more than 200 where you are. As for staying in Rome, I cannot now live anywhere else. I have to think of my work on the building of St. Peter's, as I have been appointed to Bramante's place. Besides, what town in the world can compare with Rome, and where could I get a finer task than St. Peter's? It is the foremost church in the world and the grandest structure that has ever been seen. More than a million in gold is to be spent on it. The Pope has decided to allow 60,000 ducats a year for the work, and thinks scarcely of anything else. He has appointed someone to help me, a very learned monk more than eighty years of age. The Pope is aware that the monk can't live long, but His Holiness has chosen him as he is a man of great wisdom and reputation, from whom, if he has it, I may learn some notable secret in the architect's profession, and so become proficient in it. His name is Fra Giocondo.<sup>1</sup> Every day the Pope sends for us

<sup>1</sup> He was a Dominican from Verona and designed many important public works, among them the Pont Neuf in Paris.

and talks awhile with us over this building. Let me beg of you to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them what I say ; for I know they will be pleased to hear that one of their subjects is gaining repute. Commend me to their Highnesses. I ever commend myself to you. Give my greetings to all friends and relatives, especially to Ridolfo, who is so kindly and affectionately disposed towards me. Your Raphael, Painter in Rome."

As this letter dwells much on his new advancement and responsibilities, it may be well to add that his proposals respecting St. Peter's were approved by the Pope in August, 1514. Raphael's view was that the great church should have the form of a Latin cross, as shown in the illustration given in M. Leon Palustre's work on the architecture of the Renaissance. But want of funds and other circumstances interfered with the execution of this proposal. The actual church bears few, if any, traces of his architectural surveillance.<sup>1</sup> Raphael's name is also connected with other buildings in the Bramantesque style, notably the Villa Madama on Monte Mario, erected from his designs for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., which obtained its

<sup>1</sup> In completing the structure, Carlo Maderna returned to the plan of a Latin cross.



name from its later occupation by Margaret of Parma. Another house, which he designed for Branconio dell' Aquila, was pulled down when Bernini's wide-spreading colonnade was built, about 1660, to form the approach to St. Peter's. He designed also the Palazzo Coltro-  
lini-Stoppani-Vidoni, near S. Andrea della Valle, as well as a house built for Jacopo da Brescia, surgeon to Leo X. In Florence a palazzo is thought to have been built from his design for his friend Giannozzo Pandolfini. Baron Geymüller claimed for him also the design of the Villa Farnesina in Rome, but this is more generally attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi.

In the letter to his uncle Ciarla, given above, it will be noticed how the painter, now thirty-one years old and growing celebrated, retains towards him the dependent attitude of untried youth. And yet there is something grown old and prudential in his remarks about taking a wife and the dowry he might get with her. Was this the aspect of the matter mainly considered in the society of Rome? Or did his devotion to the woman formerly supposed to have been called Margarita leave him without any feeling of romance with which, at any rate, to approach the subject of his "settling down?" He was not peculiar in his point of

view. Michelangelo, in his letters, has occasion to give a nephew some advice about taking a wife which does not disclose on the sculptor's part an exalted conception of the matrimonial relationship.

Another letter of Raphael's is preserved which was addressed to his friend, the noted Castiglione, and contains his oft-quoted remark about his method of idealising. It was written rather later than the preceding letter, and was among the correspondence published by Dolce at Venice in 1554. It runs :—

“My Lord Count,—I have made several designs of the subject which you suggested, and all that have seen them, unless they be mere flatterers, appear to be well satisfied. But I confess I am not myself satisfied, for I fear they may be displeasing to you. I send them and hope you will choose any one which is to your taste. His Holiness has deigned to lay a heavy burden on my shoulders when he placed me in charge of the works at St. Peter's. I hope I shall not sink under the load, especially as the model which I have made has been approved by His Holiness, and commended by many learned men. But my thoughts soar higher. I long to find out more about the fine forms of ancient monuments, but know not if my dreams may not end as did the

flight of Icarus. Vitruvius<sup>1</sup> has enlightened me on many points, but has not shown me all I wish to know. As for the 'Galatea,' I should count myself a great master if half the kind things which your Lordship writes of it were true; but in your words I perceive the love you bear to me, and I tell you that, if I am to paint a beautiful woman, I should have to see many beautiful women, and should need you near me to choose the fairest. But meanwhile, there being a dearth both of good judges and fair women, I apply a certain idea that comes into my mind. I know not if it possess any artistic virtue, but I try hard to have it. Yours to command. From Rome."

The wording of this letter is somewhat studied, possibly as being addressed to an arbiter of the elegancies, possibly as the composition of some cultured acquaintance of the painter. Much has been written on the intention of the phrase "certa idea." Does he mean that the beautiful face an artist represents is the artist's sheer imagining, or that it is due to a generalisation from particular faces? Perhaps he did not stay to analyse his words. The investigation of the beautiful had slept since the time of Longinus, and the world had to wait until the eighteenth century for Baumgarten to

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius was translated for him by Fabio Calvo, an old and poor scholar whom he supported.

invent that hard word "æsthetics." Recently, in his *History of Italian Art*, Professor Basilio Magni discusses the significance of Raphael's "certa idea," which he regards as agreeing with the opinion Cicero expresses, in reference to the sculptor Pheidias, of the working of the artist's mind.

In the above letter Raphael's mentioning his "Galatea" supplies the date of the composition of that celebrated fresco. It was one of the commissions given by his patron, the banker and connoisseur, Agostino Chigi, being required for the adornment of the villa built in 1508-11 by Peruzzi, a house "née d'un seul jet plutôt que bâtie," which later was named from its then owners the Farnesina. In a hall of the villa already appeared a fresco by Sebastian del Piombo of Polyphemus, vainly singing something equivalent to

"I rage, I melt, I burn.

The feeble god hath stabbed me to the heart ;"

a picture restored out of existence in the eighteenth century. In this same hall Raphael represented the fair nymph Galatea in a car drawn by two dolphins, around her disporting themselves a joyous troop of nereïds and tritons, while from the sky amorini shoot at the beings below, who seem already enough

mastered by the tender passion. In this composition he is perhaps illustrating some popular verse by Angelo Poliziano, a Florentine poet patronised by Lorenzo de' Medici. The face of Galatea bears some resemblance to that of Raphael's St. Catharine in the National Gallery. Her figure, of which the colouring is delicately toned, is from the painter's hand, but the drawing and toning of the tritons suggest that Giulio Romano was not far off while the work was in process. The fresco affords a clue to the taste of the contemporaries of Leo X. for a style modelled on the Græco-Roman classic, a style which was soon to degenerate into arid banality.

For the same wealthy but cautious patron Raphael undertook the celebrated fresco over the Chigi Chapel in Sta. Maria della Pace, graceful figures of the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and Tiburtine sibyls skilfully disposed in an awkward space. The Tiburtine Sibyl is an aged figure marked by an austerity suggestive of Michelangelo's treatment. The latter, be it added, is honourably connected with the execution of this fresco, inasmuch as, owing to his high estimate of its value, when called in as assessor, Raphael was enabled to obtain for it from Chigi 900 instead of 500 ducats. In the



THE SIBYLS

*Fresco in Sa. Maria della Pace, Rome*

OF MICHAEL



Oxford Museum is a precious study of a figure apparently intended for a sibyl, and afterwards modified ; and in the Albertina studies of other figures. The composition has suffered from the handiwork of restorers, among whom in modern times Palmaroli was notably active, and the spectator has to divine the first appearance of the work Vasari so highly commends. The angel, in rather ungraceful position above the Tiburtine Sibyl, is suggestive of one of the two angels in the "Madonna del Baldacchino." The figure in the "Pace" fresco served, perchance, as model. As before mentioned, the angels in that Florentine picture were a later addition by another hand than Raphael's. The execution of the four Prophets on the wall over this gracious composition is attributed to Raphael's fellow-townsmen, Timoteo Viti.

There is also a Chigi chapel in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, and the same patron employed Raphael to design its decoration. In the dome of the chapel mosaic was used, Raphael's drawings being rendered in this medium by a Venetian, Luigi da Pace (Maestro Luisaccio), whose signature is introduced in the panel representing the planet Venus. Raphael's design was intended to show in the cupola the history of Creation up to the Fall,



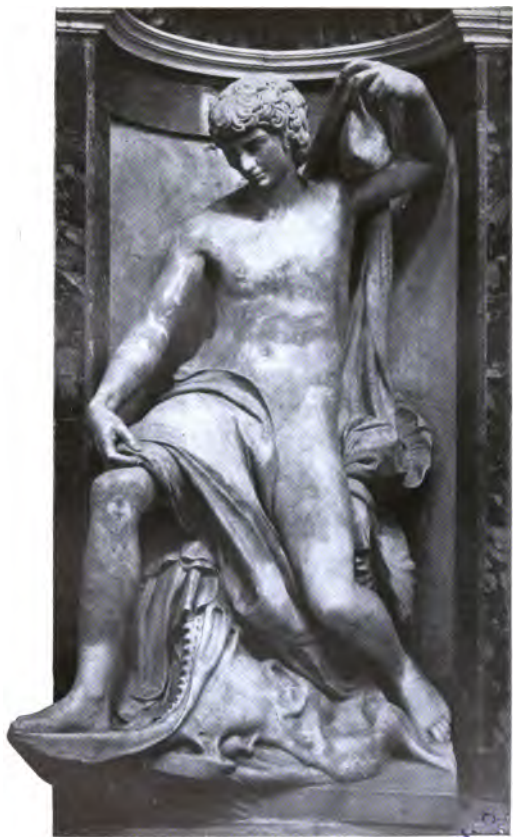
the sacred history being completed by statues of prophets and three frescoes. But it never reached this stage. What there is consists of the figure of the Almighty with uplifted hands, and surrounded by seraphim, in the central medallion. Around in the segments are the eight planets, each with a quaint combination of pagan deity and guardian angel, this astronomical subject being probably suggested by lines in the *Paradiso*, ii. 127-9 :—

“ These powers and motions of the spheres that turn,  
As the smith wields the hammer’s ponderous might,  
Must needs wheel on, by blessed movers borne.”

PLUMPTRE.

For this chapel, which was destined to be the great banker’s tomb, Raphael made the rough model of a statue of Jonah,<sup>1</sup> a work in the classic style marked by suavity and freshness, which was translated into marble by Lorenzetto, one of his pupils. The statue of Elias and a bas-relief of “Christ and the Woman of Samaria,” both in the same chapel, have by some been also associated with the Master’s essays in the sculptor’s art. In this connection falls to be mentioned a Pietro d’ Ancona, known

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that this statue is based on a marble group in the Borghese Gallery, representing the boy Palæmon trying to force open the mouth of a dolphin.



STATUE KNOWN AS JONAH  
*From design by Raphael. Rome*



only from a letter, of 22nd November, 1516, by Lionardo di Compagno, as having executed the figure of a child from a clay model by Raphael, while the latter's statue of a boy is referred to also by Castiglione in a letter to Andrea Piperario of 1523, at which date it appeared to be in the possession of Giulio Romano.<sup>1</sup>

From this brief mention of Raphael's few essays in the art of sculpture, it is time to turn to the continuation of his work in the Stanze. In the chamber of the "Incendio del Borgo" Leo adhered to subjects from contemporary history, which, in accord with the changed politics of the Holy See, differed much in their purport from the scenes the painter had already represented. Time had changed the parts in the political drama. During the years 1514 to 1517, when the frescoes in the chamber of the "Incendio" were carried out, the Pope leaned toward alliance with the French. Consequently Raphael, or rather Giulio Romano, and other pupils, were employed, under his direction, on such subjects as "Charles the Great receiving his imperial crown from the Head of the Church,"

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars on this head, see Anton Springer's *Raffael und Michelangelo*, ii., Leipzig, 1883, p. 113.

and "Leo III. clearing himself by oath" in the presence of the Emperor from false charges. In these frescoes the features of Leo X. appeared as those of the earlier Pope of the name, and Francis I. of France was seen in the semblance of the great ruler of the Franks, a piece of flattery doubtless agreeable to the ambitious spirit of the French king. Other portraits also were introduced into these frescoes representing prominent members of the papal court, as those, for instance, of Giulio de' Medici and Bibiena in the "Defeat of the Saracens" at Ostia, a picture wherein some have found a reference to the Pope's intention of forming an alliance of European monarchs against the menacing power of the Turks. In the "Incendio del Borgo," from which the Stanza is named, there is evidence of Raphael's having had greater share in the work. The subject is the miraculous arrest of a conflagration in the "Borgo," or Saxon suburb of Rome, by the prayerful interposition of Pope Leo IV. The fresco, which gives a view of the ancient church of St. Peter's, is not very attractive. It has the appearance of being an academic study of strong muscular action, and lacks unity of conception as well as pleasing colour. The naked gymnast hanging from the



INCENDIO DEL BORGO  
*Fresco in the Vatican Stanze*

MICH.



top of the wall, the well-known figure of the woman with open mouth and wind-tossed garments, and vase on her head, a drawing ascribed by Morelli to Giulio Romano, the others engaged in the rescue of household gear, or urgently appealing to the Holy Father—all this seems to indicate merely a cold and laboured effort at melodramatic effect. The nude group of the strong man carrying an older and infirm one on his shoulders, while a boy walks by his side, has been often admired as recalling the tale of the burning of Troy. The spectator nowadays is little moved by such an excursion into Virgil, but a classic, though irrelevant, detail was welcome to the taste of the painter's age. However, there was little to inspire him in a piece of monkish legend from the *Liber Pontificalis*. As he represents the scene, the "Borgo" seems in no immediate danger from the flames, so that the suggestion of the escape of Æneas has the collateral advantage of reinforcing the artist's intention to depict a conflagration.

On the vault of this Stanza are religious subjects which Perugino had executed. These were not removed, as had been the frescoes of Piero della Francesca in the Stanza of Heliodorus. Either from a natural regard, or from



the difficulty of finding time for working at the pictures required of him by important and importunate persons, he left these indifferent compositions by his old master untouched.

Of the Hall of Constantine it is hardly necessary to speak in detail. The works in it were not executed until after the painter's death. The principal picture is the well-known struggle at the Ponte Molle between the forces of the rival emperors, Maxentius and Constantine. It is a maze of figures representing a generalisation of the different actions of battle, defeat, and victory, and was for generations the theme of admiration. There is a reduced copy of it at Hampton Court attributed to Giulio Romano, and related to have come to England with the collection purchased by Charles I., in 1629, from the Duke of Mantua. It is enough to name the oft-restored remaining pictures in the chamber. They are the "Vision of the Holy Cross," the "Baptism of Constantine," and the "Donation of territories to the Church," the deed of which, by the way, was, according to Ariosto, to be found in the moon, along with the Platonic ideas, and other things equally insubstantial. In this Stanza it is somewhere said that Raphael intended to use oil-colours, so that the work of

his assistants might be more easily amended. As already mentioned, Vasari records that the two allegorical figures of Justice and Benignity were actually painted in oil, and to these, perhaps, Cardinal Bibiena refers in a letter quoted by Mr. Heath Wilson in his article on fresco-work. Of the drawings relating to frescoes in the Stanza of the "Incendio" and in the Hall of Constantine one is noted as a study of nude figures said to have been executed by Raphael for Albert Dürer. This drawing, however, has become in modern days suspect on grounds both of style and of the accompanying inscription.

In addition to his duties connected with the structure of St. Peter's and the designing of the frescoes in the Stanze, Raphael had at this time to attend to other official tasks, of which, perhaps, the most extensive was the decoration of the second storey of the "loggie" of the Vatican. This commission meant the execution of four pictures for each of thirteen arcades situated round the court of St. Damasus. It is hardly conceivable that any man, so burdened as was Raphael, could find either the time or the energy to carry out personally a work so extensive as this series of subjects, mostly from the Old Testament, which Edgar Quinet

styled "la Bible Guelfe de Raphael," and in the execution of which it is probable that Perino del Vaga took an important share. And not only were illustrative pictures of scriptural scenes required, but a vast amount of minor decorations for pilasters and embrasures of windows. For these arabesques and grotesques the skill and delicate taste of Giovanni da Udine were available, assisted, perhaps, by suggestions derived from antique work discovered in excavating the site of the baths of Titus. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century these splendid galleries were open to the winds of heaven. But even the Roman climate is not free from reproach, and these pictures, most of which have been repainted, it has been found necessary to protect by glass. Allied to these scriptural subjects were those of the tapestries Leo X. ordered for the decoration of the lower part of the walls of the Sistine Chapel. For these his hardly tasked favourite produced the cartoons during the years 1515-16, his remuneration being fixed at 1,000 ducats, and Giovanni Francesco Penni being specially charged with the drawings for the borders. The cartoons were executed in tempera, and were sent to Brussels as models for the skilled workmen employed

by Peter van Aelst, who had been appointed weaver to the Archduke Philip. Seven of the tapestries were exhibited in the Sistine Chapel on St. Stephen's Day, 1519, and became the theme of general admiration. These ten tapestries, for which the Pope paid, according to Fea, 34,000 scudi, had an eventful history. After the death of Leo they were for a time in pawn. At the sack of Rome in 1527 they were carried off by the rough soldiery under Bourbon, but were restored later, some of them in the reign of Julius III. During the French occupation of Italy in 1798 they were sold by auction, and French dealers got hold of them; but they were afterwards recovered by the agents of Pius VII. They are now to be found, though in a dilapidated state, in a gallery on the second floor of the Vatican. Distinct from these tapestries of the "old school" are some of inferior design, executed after Raphael's death, which relate events in the life of Christ.

The history of the cartoons for these earlier tapestries remains in some uncertainty. The drawing for the "Stoning of St. Stephen" disappeared in the sixteenth century. That for the "Conversion of Saul" was for a time in the collection of the noted connoisseur

Cardinal Grimani,<sup>1</sup> and disappeared after 1528. The drawing for "St. Paul in Prison" is also lost. Seven cartoons remained in Flanders, having been cut into strips for the convenience of the weavers. There they came under the notice of the great Peter Paul. On his recommendation they were purchased about 1630 by Charles I., who thought they would be of service in the development of the tapestry industry, which had been started by James I. at Mortlake, under the direction of Franz Cleyn, of Rostock. At the sale of the royal effects, after the execution of Charles, they were saved from dispersion by the intervention of Cromwell. Whether moved by their remarkable narrative power, or whether thinking of their importance as models for tapestry workers, the great Puritan expended £300 on their purchase.<sup>2</sup> Charles II., on the contrary, wished to raise money by selling them to Louis XIV., but they were kept in England through the efforts of Danby. William III. ordered Sir Christopher Wren to provide suitable housing for them at Hampton Court. In

<sup>1</sup> See the *Anonimo Morelliano* for the mention of this cartoon and for reference to a drawing relating to the Attila fresco, etc.

<sup>2</sup> According to the House of Commons *Journal* of July 23rd, 1645, "superstitious" pictures in the royal collections were ordered to be "forthwith burnt."

1865 they were placed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and now hang there supplemented by copies, presented in 1883, of some of the tapestries in the Vatican. The seven cartoons preserved are the "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," the "Charge to St. Peter," the "Healing of the Lame Man," "Elymas Struck with Blindness," the "Death of Ananias," "St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra," and "St. Paul at Athens." It should be added that at the Chantilly Museum there are also three fragments of the cartoons, either from the hand of Raphael, or executed, under his superintendence, by Penni or Giulio Romano.<sup>1</sup> Of the seven cartoons the Duc d'Aumale says that they are "avec les marbres du Parthénon ce que l'Angleterre possède de plus beau en fait d'art, et qui dans l'œuvre de Raphaël n'ont peut-être de supérieur que les Stanzes du Vatican." But in England there exists now a less fervid degree of estimation. The strictures of Mr. Ruskin and others have done something to impair the fame of the cartoons. While it is admitted that their dignity of

<sup>1</sup> See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. xxii. pp. 377, 381 (1880). Drawings relating to the cartoons are at Windsor Castle, the Albertina, and elsewhere, and are reproduced in his work on the tapestries by the late Eugène Müntz.

style, once lauded, passes readily into cold and academic formalism, it seems beside the point to urge such Protestant criticism as Mr. Ruskin's when he complains of the "Charge to St. Peter" that the Apostle is made too conspicuous, and his brethren placed in an unpleasing line behind him in order to convey the doctrine that papal supremacy was based on apostolic succession from St. Peter. Truly a great enormity on the part of Raphael, whose early training and position as Court Painter to a theocratic ruler would have made him little disposed to question the hieratic tradition on which the papacy relied. The tapestry for which this cartoon was drawn once hung near the altar of the chapel. To the Pope and the participants in his ecclesiastical splendours the artist's treatment of the subject must have seemed so apostolically simple as hardly to be atoned for by the classic treatment of the figure of Christ, which was derived possibly from some ancient statue. In the "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," the tapestry from which was put next the altar, the disproportionate size of the boat has often been remarked, but in a decorative hanging a detail like this may be neglected. More pertinent is the criticism of the figure of St. Paul repro-

## STYLE OF THE CARTOONS 145

ing the people of Lystra, who would have sacrificed to him as to a god. Indeed, in this composition the small figures of the children, one playing on the double flute, the other with his attention directed to the ram, stand out attractively from the rest of the work, the style of which is allied to that of the fresco of the "Expulsion of Heliodorus." It has been noticed that the figure of the priest about to slay the ox seems to have been suggested by an ancient bas-relief now exhibited in the Uffizi. In the "Healing of the Lamè Man" a detail, afterwards often copied, is the twisted form of the pillar of the Beautiful Gate, a form taken from that of twelve columns in the old church of St. Peter's. Of more artistic interest is the figure of the woman with head turned and babe in her arms.

Though in the cartoons generally the pose of the figures is too studied, and the shadows are unpleasantly black, there is much to admire in their dramatic force. In the "St. Paul at Athens" this is notable in the figure of the Apostle and the attitudes of his listeners. Granting the direct borrowing from the Brancacci frescoes, and what is alleged as to the artist's careless drawing, the exaggerated emphasis shown in the extended arms, and



fingers, and facial expressions, and the obtrusive classicism of the backgrounds, his setting forth of the biblical history has nevertheless a simplicity and illustrative emphasis that have long appealed alike to all shades of religious feeling. Doubtless, the life of the "immemorial East" was different in aspect from that presented by these figures in senatorial drapery and sometimes stilted attitudes. But the religious mood is not dependent on attempts at a photographic realism. Without any thought of it, these representations strikingly reinforce the text of Holy Writ. Indeed, considering that the spirit of the Church in Raphael's time was worldly to the verge of atheism, it is surprising that these cartoons are in the main so free from an insincere grandiosity, and that his representations appeal successfully not only to the devout, but to the sympathetic interest of the casual observer.

Decoration of a different character was that which he executed in Agostino Chigi's villa, and which deals with Apuleius' myth of "Cupid and Psyche," known to him possibly through Filippo Beroaldi's version of the "Metamorphoses." Here, again, these ten pictures on the spandrels of the ceiling, with their amorini

and other decorative adjuncts, show the labours of the School rather than those of the Master. But time and the hour, and the man, in the person of Carlo Maratta, having done their work, there is little to be gained in attempting the ascription of what has been covered by coarse reds and blues. It was in 1518 that Raphael's Farnesina decorations were first exhibited. That they were not unanimously admired appears from a letter, quoted in Gotti's *Michelangelo* (vol. ii.), written to the sculptor by Lionardo (the "Sellaio"), who declares that the ceiling of the villa was a disgrace, and "worse a good deal than the last of the Vatican chambers."

But though Michelangelo's friends in Rome could find ground for censure, one may be sure that nothing but praise was uttered in the circle of high ecclesiastics and prominent personages in which Raphael moved. Some of these live still in the portraits he executed. One of these is that of Cardinal Bibiena, whose classic tastes were specially gratified by Raphael's work, and for whom he produced designs for the noted bath-room in a now inaccessible part of the Vatican. He is shown in two portraits, one in Madrid, the other in Florence. The

former is that of a handsome man, not long past youth, in red watered silk. The late M. Müntz, after Carderera, considered that it represented Alidosi, the favourite of Julius II., but Señor P. de Madrazo, after weighing the arguments, was not convinced. Whoever may be represented, the fine quality of the portrait leaves a strong impression, though it be encountered amid the artistic opulence of the Prado. The picture in the Pitti is less noteworthy, but yet affords a good idea of the *rusé* Churchman whose literary skill and salted speech stood him in good stead with the pleasure-loving Leo X. Of Raphael's portrait, also in the Pitti, of Tommaso Inghirami, the gifted "Phædrus," whom Erasmus reckoned the Cicero of the age, there is less to be said, inasmuch as it has suffered from the generally accepted criticism of Morelli, who postponed its claims to those of a portrait in the Casa Inghirami of Volterra. While he dethroned the Pitti copy of the Inghirami, Morelli has, however, claimed for Raphael the double portrait, in the Doria Gallery of Rome, of the distinguished Venetians, Navagero and Beazzano, formerly long supposed to represent Baldo and Bartolo, two jurists of the fourteenth



CASTIGLIONE  
*Portrait in the Louvre*



century. Some of Raphael's portraits, such as those of Giuliano de' Medici and of the Ferrarese poet, Antonio Tebaldeo, have disappeared. Fortunately this is not the case with both the semblances he executed of his intimate friend, the author and diplomatist, Baldassare Castiglione. One of these dropped out of knowledge in modern times, for Pungileoni speaks of its being in the Torlonia Gallery, but Minghetti's search there for it was not rewarded. Another one, mentioned in a letter by Papal Secretary Bembo as inferior to the likeness of Tebaldeo, is probably the treasured likeness of the "Salon Carré." In this the refined author of the *Cortegiano* looks fully qualified to write on the accomplishments required in a gentleman and a squire of dames. Warm grey plush and black velvet sleeves, black velvet hat, and white ruffles form the setting to a dignified face in which the grey-blue eyes seem instinct with kindly frankness. The picture is an admirable composition in low tones devoid of heavy shadows. Castiglione took the portrait with him when he went as Envoy to Spain. Afterwards it passed from Mantua to Amsterdam, where it was much admired by Rembrandt and Rubens. After forming part of the Lopez collec-

tion, it was ultimately acquired by the Louvre. Castiglione's satisfaction with the portrait is reflected in some lines of a Latin ode in which he expressed the lament for his absence of his short-lived countess, Hippolita Torelli.<sup>1</sup> With the "Donna Velata" of the Pitti one approaches a theme on which much ink has been vainly shed. It is here enough to say that this portrait of a beautiful unknown is a fine example of Raphael's art. Whether it is the woman he loved so much in his Roman days, who can tell? It is different from the portrait of a coarse-looking woman in the Palazzo Barberini, which is known as the Fornarina, and was perhaps painted by Giulio Romano. In the Berlin Museum is a portrait, and in the Tribuna of Florence another, both of which were at one time supposed to be likenesses of the painter's beloved Margarita. The latter is one with Venetian colouration, and has been thought to represent the Improvisatrice Beatrice of Ferrara. To this portrait, as to that in Berlin, the name of Sebastian del Piombo is now attached.

The features of the "Donna Velata" are akin to those of the famous "St. Cecilia" in the Academy of Bologna, a picture com-

<sup>1</sup> Dennistoun, *Dukes of Urbino*, ii. 49.





## RAPHAEL

tion, it was ultimately acquired by the Louvre. Castiglione's satisfaction with the portrait is reflected in some lines of a Latin ode in which he expressed the lament for his absence of his short-lived countess, Hippolita Torelli.<sup>1</sup> With the "Donna Velata" of the Pitti one approaches a theme on which much ink has been vainly shed. It is here enough to say that this portrait of a beautiful unknown is a fine example of Raphael's art. Whether it is the woman he loved so much in his Roman days, who can tell? It is different from the portrait of a coarse-looking woman in the Palazzo Barberini, which is known as the "Mistress of the Lion," perhaps painted by the same hand. In the Berlin Museum is a portrait of a woman, and in the Tribuna of Florence is a portrait of a woman, both of which were at one time supposed to be the same person. The latter is a painter's copy of the original, and has been thought of as the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara, now in the Berlin Museum.



CHIA  
my, Bologna



"DONNA VELATA"

*Pitti*



ST. CECILIA  
*In the Academy, Bologna*



missioned in 1513 by Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro, but not completed until three years later. The saint is holding an organ, from which some of the pipes have dropped, to show symbolically the transcendent beauty of heavenly, as compared with earthly, music. The musical instruments are stated to have been left to the skill of Giovanni da Udine, and their over-elaboration offended Mr. Ruskin, who could not look at the picture without wishing them away. In Marcantonio's noted engraving the angels in the sky appear with musical instruments. It was a better thought to substitute a choir of angels. Of almost equal charm to the "St. Cecilia" is the figure of the Magdalen, who, looking out of the picture, seems to be unconscious of the strains that reach the subtler sense of the patron-saint of musicians. Some critics in this case, too, have found an obtrusive duality in the treatment. A dark stain was added to the picture when it was operated on in Paris, where it stayed for a time as part of the spoils of the French conquest of Italy. The colouring, however, of the work when retouched was much admired by the painter Kaulbach, a circumstance that educes from Morelli the sarcastic remark that a modern colouration

was more apt to appeal to a modern artist than what had been originally put on.<sup>1</sup>

Painted much about the same time as the "Cecilia," possibly as an outcome of a supposed visit of Raphael to Bologna, was the "Madonna di San Sisto," the universally admired canvas of the Dresden Gallery. How the most famous of Madonnas was obtained by the distant Benedictine monastery in Piacenza is not known. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (vol. ii. 373) surmise the agency of Cardinal Antonio de' Monti, whose likeness appears in Raphael's Vatican fresco of the Decretals. The Elector of Saxony, Augustus III. of Poland, purchased it from the monks in 1753 for 40,000 scudi (about £9,000). This work, for which preliminary drawings are not known, met with a cool reception from the Dresden connoisseurs at the time of its arrival in 1755. They found the representation of the Child unpleasing, and Winckelmann, the leading critic of his day, went so far as to call it a bad picture. Raphael's treatment of the subject is simple.

<sup>1</sup> It was before this picture that Correggio's ambiguous "Anch' io son pittore" is said to have been uttered. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii. 375, for the story of the assistance rendered to Cardinal Pucci by St. Cecilia in the matter of music lessons.



MADONNA DI SAN SISTO  
*Royal Gallery, Dresden*

UNIV. OF  
MICH.





He places on the canvas just four figures —Madonna and Child, Pope Sixtus, and St. Barbara. The two cherubs in the foreground seem a detail added afterwards, and one story makes them to have been suggested by the faces of two boys that had climbed to the window of the workshop where the painter was plying his brush. [Perhaps the breaking up of a blank surface of cloud sufficiently accounts for the appearance of these "putti," whose innocent naturalism makes an agreeable contrast to the gravity of the Christ Child.] As in the altar-piece from Foligno, the background showed a mist of faces, which time has faded. Time has also impaired the form of the Child, and the picture generally has suffered from the restoration inflicted in 1827 by Parmaroli.<sup>1</sup> In the face of the St. Barbara have been noticed the lineaments of one of the attendant nymphs in the "Galatea" fresco. Whether, or not, intentionally, the eyes of the Madonna and Child appear parallel, and gaze into the far distance. The prophetic solemnity of expression so induced has been the occasion of much eloquence. The following lines from

<sup>1</sup> The early connoisseur Von Rumohr judged from the workmanship that it was intended for use as a banner in processions, and in this opinion the devoted Passavant concurred.

a volume of verse, issued some twenty years ago, called *Love in Idleness*, though inspired by a Madonna of the Venetian school, may, perhaps, express something of the artist's feeling when he designed his picture :—

"Years pass and change : mother and child remain.  
Mother so proudly sad, so sadly wise,  
With perfect face and wonderful calm eyes,  
Full of a mute expectancy of pain :  
Child of whose love the mother seems so fain,  
Looking far off, as if in other skies  
He saw the hill of crucifixion rise,  
And knew the horror, and would not refrain."

Not very far from Piacenza is Bologna, where Leo X. held his court in 1515. If Raphael was there also, it is possible he then received Count Ercolani's commission for the "Vision of Ezekiel," the small panel in the Pitti depicting the Almighty as a Lord of Olympus, and supported on the pinions of the eagle. The landscape beneath is of somewhat special character, and is singled out in Jos. Gilbert's work on *Landscape in Art* for commendation, as being marked by careful study, almost Venetian, of natural effects.

In the "Ezekiel" Crowe and Cavalcaselle find the execution of Giulio Romano. To him also Morelli attributes the "Madonna della Rosa," the "Perla," and the Sta. Maria dello

Spasimo," all three belonging to the Prado Gallery, and probably to the year 1518. As to the "Madonna Under the Oak" and the "Visitation," both of which are also in Madrid, little can be affirmed with respect to Raphael's authorship. The "Perla" was obtained by Philip IV. of Spain after the execution of Charles I., the purchase being concealed from the two English Envoys in Madrid of the unfortunate Stuart. These pictures, along with the "St. John the Baptist" of the Florence Tribuna, had doubtless to be produced by the famous painter with all the haste usual in the case of commissions given by exalted persons. And in them the "glory, Rafael's daily wear," has grown less conspicuous with the passing of generations. Of the "Spasimo" the vicissitudes were strange; the purchase of the altar-piece by Philip IV. being one of the transactions revealed in the archives of Simancas. The face of the Christ in it appears to be borrowed from Martin Schongauer's "Procession to Calvary," and may have given the cue to Guido Reni's popular picture of a later age. For the grandiose figure of the executioner Raphael resorted to his "Judgment of Solomon" in the Segnatura, and took, perhaps, the man with the sword

from the Gladiator of the Naples Museum. "Cosa meravigliosa," says the fluent Vasari of the "Spasimo," and thereon proceeds to praise the Sta. Veronica, a figure which is not included in this academic composition. In this case, as in others, the fashion of this world changes. It is interesting to remember that critics of importance in their day, such as Eméric David and Viardot, studied, and thought highly of works passing under the name of Raphael which are not to-day reckoned his finest. As to the "Spasimo," however, it has been said that the hard red of the colouring is due to the operations on it of Bonnemaison, while the picture was in Paris. This M. Paul Lefort contests, pointing to a copy of the picture, in the Academy of S. Fernando, made in 1665, which is marked by the same intonation.

To this busy time in the painter's life, when his popularity was telling on his artistic conscientiousness, belongs, perhaps, the story of his encounter with Michelangelo in the streets of Rome. On one occasion, when he was leaving the Vatican surrounded by a cortège of scholars and apprentices, Michelangelo met him and cried out: "There you go, like the sheriff with his *posse comitatus*." "And you," retorted Raphael, "walk lonely, like the



POPE LEO X  
*Pitti*



executioner": an incident, by the way, commemorated by Horace Vernet's picture of 1835. Another instance of Raphael's power of repartee is a story given by Castiglione. A cardinal, looking at a picture on which the painter was at the moment engaged, complained that the face in it of the Chief of the Apostles was too red in tone. "Yes," said Raphael, "he is blushing that such a man as you should be numbered among the shepherds of his Church":—a bold answer, which hints at the cynical indifference to religion then prevailing in the Roman world.

Who was the cardinal that met with this sudden reproof? Giulio de' Medici, the Pope's nephew, and by him advanced unusually early to the dignity of the red hat, might have deserved it. His sarcastic face appears, along with Lodovico de' Rossi's, in the famous masterpiece of the Pitti collection, showing Leo X. at a table with an open missal before him, to read which he had presumably to use the magnifying-glass held in his white plump hand. The painter has succeeded in rendering the combination of characteristics his sitter possessed. One learns from the portrait that Leo was shrewd and clever, that his person was corpulent, and his sight defective; and, knowing how



he condemned a conspiring cardinal to death, and shamelessly robbed the Duke of Urbino of his duchy, it seems possible to read in his features a dangerous amount of selfishness and obstinacy. Whether by chance or design the work is unusually rich as a scheme of colour, and among Raphael's portraits claims the priority which the "Mass of Bolsena" obtains, on this account, among his frescoes. A replica of it exists, painted some seven years later, by Andrea del Sarto. In Vasari's life of that painter particulars are given as to the occasion and the excellence of this copy, which is now in the Naples Gallery. So close was it to the original that it deceived even Giulio Romano, who had himself worked on the original portrait in the course of its execution. Giulio's own style is, however, more apparent in the portrait of Joanna of Aragon in the Louvre, a work generally red in tone, which was founded on a drawing taken by Giulio in Naples of the celebrated beauty. The portrait was intended by Bibiena for the French king, to whom the Cardinal was accredited as papal representative. In this gift, as in the "Holy Family of Francis I." and the large "St. Michael" of the Louvre, which were commissioned by the Pope's nephew



THE HOLY FAMILY OF FRANCIS I

*In the Louvre*



Lorenzo, may be read the pictorial evidence of the diplomatic currents of the hour, the close connection between the politics of Rome and Paris. In the execution of these two pictures, as well as in that of the "St. Margaret and the Dragon," much was left to Giulio Romano. The "Holy Family of Francis I.," which was a present from the Pope to the queen of Francis, is a striking composition, noted for its effects of chiaroscuro. In respect to this picture and the "St. Michael," Sebastian del Piombo found something harsh to say of the work of the "Prince of the Synagogue." And certainly, in criticising the colouring of them, the enmity of the aspiring Venetian found a weak spot in Raphael's armour. The latter being now, not only the Vatican Court Painter and Architect of St. Peter's, but, since the issue of the Brief of 27th August, 1515, Surveyor of Ancient Monuments in Rome and its vicinity, found his hands so full that his activities as a painter must have begun to flag. As Surveyor he had rights of interference for the protection of antiquities. Relating to this branch of his functions, there is an interesting report in which, until the Abbé Francesconi published his criticisms, it was surmised that the artist was greatly helped by Baldassare Castig-

lione. There is not space to treat at length of this report. Suffice it to mention that Raphael censures previous occupants of the Holy See in regard to the destruction of remains of the imperial age, which was partly occasioned through the quarrying for pozzuolana. He mentions further that, during the twelve years of his residence in Rome, the "Meta Romuli," or "Sepulchrum Scipionum," and the temple of Ceres on the Sacred Way had been pulled down, that the basilica on the Forum and the arcade of the baths of Diocletian had suffered injuries, and that recently some of the ruins in the Forum of Nerva had been burned in order to make lime of the marble, a practice referred to by Gregorovius as frequent in mediæval Rome. Like a son of the "Rinascimento," Raphael rejoices in the passing away of the Gothic style. But his views on classical art are not without an element of critical judgment, as appears in his remarks on the architecture of the Arch of Constantine, which he contrasts with the feeble poverty of its ornament. His report was published by Volpi in 1733, and in the Munich Library a copy has been found appended to a translation of Vitruvius by Fabio Calvo of Ravenna.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Numbered Cod. Ital. 216. See Gregorovius, viii. pt. i., pp. 336-7, 1902.

The story above mentioned of the encounter between Michelangelo and Raphael, whether true or merely *ben trovato*, suggests, as was probably the case, that between these two great artists there was little love lost. Michelangelo, as the foremost in the files of Italian art, Leonardo perhaps excepted, doubtless found it little gratifying to see an Umbrian, a pupil of the Perugino that he had publicly flouted, carrying the palm over all other artists at the court of Leo X. But there is little direct evidence in the matter. It is possible that the great sculptor, who belonged distinctly to the "irritabile genus," did but utter some splenetic words which were made the most of by interested flatterers.<sup>1</sup> One of his followers in Rome, Luciani, more generally known as Sebastian del Piombo, a colourist trained in the Venetian school, and at one time friendly to Raphael, had presumably acquired there considerable reputation. Otherwise he would hardly have received an important commission from Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. Giulio

<sup>1</sup> How Michelangelo received the charge of malversation brought by Sebastian del Piombo against Raphael is not known. That he penned harsh things against Bramante is on record, but, as mentioned above, he commended Raphael's work in the Pace when called in as assessor.

was titular Bishop of Narbonne, and desired two large altar-pieces for the cathedral there. One of these was the "Raising of Lazarus," now in the National Gallery, a work less than formerly in the top of general estimation, but still admired for its power of portraiture and the colouring of the background, which has been more perceptible since it was cleaned by Dyer in 1881. For this composition there is good reason to suppose that Michelangelo furnished a most important part, viz. the design of the body of Lazarus restored to life. Were it not that the unpleasant gesture of Martha was dictated by an established art tradition, it might well be ascribed to the prosaic nature of Sebastian, whose Venetian commercialism crops up in his remark that it was "better to fish in Rome for fees than for eels in the marshes of the Po." For the second picture which Cardinal de' Medici wanted for Narbonne he went to Raphael, who no doubt felt stimulated to great efforts when he knew that his competitor, Sebastian del Piombo, had been assisted by the great Florentine. It would seem that Raphael first contemplated painting the Resurrection, but later chose the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor as the subject of

what proved his last work. For it there are extant a study from the nude at the Albertina, and other studies, which testify to the earnestness of his efforts in accomplishing that *magnum opus* in pallid tints and black shadows which fronts the eager visitor on entering the third room of the Vatican Gallery. The duality of the picture is impressed on it both in theme and conception, though a formal connection between the two parts of it may be looked for in the action of the disciple who points upward with his left hand. The construction of the picture, which is based on chapter xvii. of St. Matthew, is somewhat difficult to follow. Later artists might have zealously laboured to produce effects of foreshortening, have made the mountain less symbolical, and have sought to obviate the appearance of swimming presented by the topmost figures. But foreshortenings may fail to produce graceful lines, and the crowd in the lower part might have become even yet more prominent than it is. Some have supposed that the crowd is not meant to be conscious of what is taking place in the heavens, a contention that makes it more difficult to find unity in the composition. Of this work the main purport



seems to be that suffering humanity is to look to the heavenly powers for relief. The former is conveyed by the figure of the demoniac, and the urgent expression of the father and of the kneeling women, one of whom seems a counterpart of the kneeling woman in the fresco of the "Expulsion of Heliodorus." In the mildness of the face of the glorified form above is to be understood the consoling power of the Paraclete. It is in this upper part of the picture that the workmanship of Raphael is sought. The patron in this case, and the circumstances of the commission, doubtless formed for him a strong inducement to leave little to his factotum Penni, or his favourite Giulio. But while the picture was incomplete his active mind and untiring hand were stayed by the fell arrest of death. The abrupt close of his career on the 6th April, 1520, has contributed to enhance the fame of a work which otherwise would hardly be placed in the front rank of the Master's compositions. It did not go to Narbonne. Cardinal Giuliano, who was probably responsible for the introduction into it of the figures of S. Giuliano and S. Lorenzo, was loth to send it away from Rome, where it had naturally become more precious. It was transported therefore to the church of S. Pietro in Montorio.



THE TRANSFIGURATION  
*Vatican Gallery*

WCH  
ANC



## DEATH OF RAPHAEL 165

In 1797 the French took it to Paris, whence it was restored to Italy after the downfall of Napoleon.<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances of Raphael's death are variously related. He was carried off probably by an attack of malaria. He prepared himself to "die as a good Christian" by sending from the house the object of his attachment, to whom, Vasari adds, he left the wherewithal "she might live in decency." It was, perhaps, his connection with her that caused him to defer, until too late, his marriage with Maria, the niece of Cardinal Bibiena. According to Vasari, he divided his property among his disciples, Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco, but Pungileoni's researches have caused this statement to be modified. They inherited his drawings and sketches. But the bulk of his property, amounting to 16,000 ducats, went to his relatives; enough, however, being reserved to buy a house, whereof the rent was to form a chantry in Sta. Maria Rotonda, otherwise the Pantheon. The appointed executors of the will were his friends, Baldassare da Pescia, Papal Datary, and Branconi dell' Aquila. His

<sup>1</sup> The British Government contributed £30,000 to defray the expenses of removal to Rome of pictures taken from Italy by the French troops.

remains were placed in the Pantheon under an altar to the Virgin. For this altar he had ordered the execution, by Lorenzetto, of the "Madonna del Sasso," the name of the statue being perhaps derived from a popular corruption of the name Sanzio. There they reposed until 1833, when they were disturbed in order to settle a somewhat ghoulish dispute respecting the possession of his skull. In the October of that year they were reinterred with much pomp under the auspices of the Academy of St. Luke. On a tablet in the wall to the left is the frigid inscription, composed by Cardinal Bembo :—

D. O. M.

"Raphaeli Sanctio Ioann F. Urbinati  
Pictori eminentiss. veterumq. æmulo  
cuius spiranteis prope imagineis si  
contemplere naturae atque artis foedus  
facile inspexeris

Julii II et Leonis X Pontt. Max. picturae  
et architecturae operibus gloriam auxit

V. A. xxxvii integer integros  
quo die natus est eo esse desiit  
viii Id. April. MDXX

Ille hic est Raphael timuit quo sospite vinci  
Rerum magna parens et moriente mori."

For an artist the spot holds much to make it sacred. Near Raphael's tomb is the body of his pupil, Perino del Vaga, who was gifted

with a portion of his master's spirit. Not far off lie Baldassare Peruzzi and Annibale Caracci. And now under the same roof are to be found also the "ruined sides of kings," since Sta. Maria della Rotonda has been chosen for the resting-place of the rulers of reborn Italy.

By the death of Raphael, Rome was thrown into mourning. Letters of Castiglione and of Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola testify to the sense of his loss. Even the voice of detraction was stilled, and Sebastian del Piombo could speak without rancour of him that was now beyond blame or praise. During the painter's brief illness cracks appeared in some of the walls of the Vatican and frightened the Pope and his circle into a different part of the palace. When this ominous chance was confirmed as a presage, and the Pope found that he had lost his Groom of the Chamber and Court Painter, he was deeply affected. The familiar figure of the Master was now to be missing in the Stanze and in the streets, where the Roman populace loved to see him pass, a presence so gracious that even the animals followed him as he moved surrounded by his troop of fifty scholars and apprentices. Vasari relates that Raphael possessed a remarkable gift of inspiring harmony among less dis-

tinguished artists that worked for him as well as among those that claimed to be great personages, of which last, he says sarcastically, "our art produces immense numbers." But when he was dead his school rapidly declined. Even his favourite pupil, Giulio Romano, fell under the influence of the all-compelling Jove of the Sistine frescoes. While Vasari singles out the social gifts of the deceased artist for special commendation, it would seem that Castiglione, and the humanists of the Papal Court, deplored the loss, not so much of the painter as of the archæologist and enthusiastic student of the remains of ancient Rome. The cultured author of the *Cortegiano* begins a poem on Raphael's death by comparing him with Aesculapius, sentenced by Zeus to death for his success in recalling Hippolytus to life. So Raphael, he declares, had re-created the mangled frame of Rome, and restored life to a city ruined by sword, fire, and the lapse of years. Calcagnini likewise wrote lines referring to Raphael's plans for the restoration of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Tot proceres Romam, tam longa exstruerat aetas,  
Totque hostes et tot saecula diruerant,  
Nunc Romam in Roma quaerit reperitque Raphael.  
Quaerere magni hominis ; sed reperire Dei est."

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And similarly the envoy in Rome of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, speaks of what the learned will write in the painter's praise. Eulogies of this kind seem somewhat out of place to us, who think rather of the artist's varied series of Madonnas, of his noble frescoes of the "Disputa" and "School of Athens," and of his great merits as a portrait painter. But yet these judgments of his contemporaries may not have been quite astray. From his early days in Rome he was peculiarly sensitive to the influence shed by "storied urn or animated bust," and his style was increasingly affected by suggestions offered in ancient bas-reliefs or statuary. The amorini in the Segnatura medallions and the Foligno altar-piece are charming instances of the pagan Cupid, full of the joy of life, which the taste of the age preferred to the accessory angels of aforetime. But "*jeune, on est poète, vieux, on devient érudit.*" In his later Roman period, when he was in charge of the fabric of St. Peter's, and besieged by importunate patrons, he doubtless felt some decline in his energy of artistic invention, and turned with the greater zeal to the archæological exploration of Rome. The praise of learned literati meant much to the son of Giovanni Santi, a provincial of Urbino.



"Cosa bellissima," says Peregrino in 1532 of Raphael's design of Rome then about to be printed.<sup>1</sup> Thus it may have been that the painter was willing to leave his picture-making to his pupils employed in the "cinque botteghe" near S. Giacomo Scossacavalli. For him, perhaps, it was a sufficiently proud position to be the architect of St. Peter's and the Pope's Surveyor of Antiquities, to be occupied with the protection of ancient monuments and the planning of a restored Rome. While thinking of him in this connection, it is sad to reflect that the Fates cut short the thread of his existence ere so much was heedlessly done to injure both older and later strata of the city. For the greater glorification of a brief visit of the Emperor Charles V. much alteration of the streets occurred. How much might have been preserved of Rome of the past, if Raphael had been there to overlook, when several churches and hundreds of buildings were levelled to the ground to afford more space for the pageant of a day.

<sup>1</sup> Document quoted by Domenico Gnoli in *Arch. Stor.*, 1889.

## CHAPTER V

### RAPHAEL'S PLACE IN ART

Vasari on the characteristics of Raphael's art—Titian's admiration—Opinion of Salvator Rosa—Carlo Maratta—Estimation of Raphael in France—Mengs, Winckelmann, and Goethe help to revive his influence—The German "Nazarenes"—Impression created by the pictures Napoleon I. collected in the Louvre—Ingres—Sir Joshua Reynolds on Raphael—Blake's protest—Ruskin's adverse judgment—Pre-Raphaelitism—Summary.

**G**RACE of line; composition, in groups rather than in single figures; and a remarkable power of illustration and invention, are characteristics of Raphael's art. Being of the Umbrian school, and early trained in a region bordering both on Tuscany and the dominions of Venice, he possessed tendencies towards a Venetian appreciation of colour which he did not wholly lose in the course of his later experience. To judge from his "Mass of Bolsena," it is conceivable that his assimilative mind might have soon felt at home in the artistic atmosphere of Venice, and that his talents would have found congenial exercise

in the portrayal of the civic ceremonials, and the potent and grave seigniors of the City of the Lagoons. From the study of splendid hues in vestures and palaces richly dight, and in the radiant sky of the Venetian littoral, he might well have passed to the acquirement of *chiaroscuro*. Unless the fresco of the "Liberation of St. Peter" be the work of a pupil trained in another style, it seems to signify a tendency in Raphael towards the delight in the mysteriousness of shadow that Tintoretto felt, and the play of light and shadow that afterwards dignified the everyday matter of the Dutch school. But fate took him to the city by the Arno where Leonardo and Michelangelo shone brightest in a constellation of artists. Though he conned the Masaccio frescoes there, and studied anatomy with extreme diligence in his efforts to acquire force and grandeur of style, he had the good sense to perceive that painting should not be too much restricted to the delineation of the nude; and he sought, therefore, to obtain facility in perspective, animated movement, and landscape effects. "Well would it have been for the artists of our day," says Vasari, "had they done the same instead of pursuing the study of the works of Michelangelo alone, in which they have not been able

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to approach his perfection, but have acquired a manner hard, laboured, and destitute of beauty."

In the sixteenth century the art of painting lay long in the shadow cast by the form of Michelangelo, and suffered from the unthinking imitation of his style, which lent itself too easily as a model for the manufacture of large and florid insincerities. Vasari congratulates his age because it might see a man paint in one year six pictures, whereas the earlier masters spent six years on one picture, less perfect! It should not be supposed, however, that such works were wanted to hang on the line in frequent picture-shows. The practice was not then known of crowding a jostling array of pictures in an exhibition. Painting was still a dependent art, and the works which Vasari refers to were doubtless such as are to be seen in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, grandiose compositions, which civic authorities deemed elevating, and which were required to cover large spaces at no great expenditure of time or money. The observer nowadays of such works will be little inclined to share Vasari's admiration.

While at the time of Raphael's death Michelangelo's sculptresque forms were revered almost as if they were the mould of generation

of a race of "Uebere Menschen," there remained some who were amenable to the spell of Raphael's grace and urbanity of style. Though his large school of pupils dwindled, and the sack of Rome under Bourbon dispersed them far and wide, the Stanze frescoes remained to vindicate his fame. To this Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogue on Painting*, a book prompted by Pietro Aretino, testifies, when it mentions that they were seen and admired by Titian. With the rise of the "Eclectic" school art became less partial towards the Michelangelesque, and preached the combination of the excellences of the earlier masters. A reflection of this phase in art history was the sonnet of Agostino Caracci (1558-1601), which throws some light on the position then assigned to Raphael among the Consentes of painting. He says:—

"Let him that aspires to be a good painter have at command Roman design, Venetian action with Venetian light and shade, and the good colouring of the Lombards; the terrible force of Michelangelo, Titian's truth to nature, Correggio's pure and sovrain style, and the just symmetry of Raphael."

In this *giusta simmetria* is doubtless to be understood his skill in the balance of his compositions, the form of his masses, as well as

the proportions of his figures. And further testimony to the recovered prestige of Raphael is to be drawn from the account of Velasquez' journey in Italy. When he went there in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, to note rather than to learn, the prevailing modes, he found that the work of the Umbrian master had become prized. The great Spanish artist himself, as might be supposed, esteemed more highly the genius of Titian. But, according to Boschini,<sup>1</sup> he heard from the lips of Salvator Rosa that the painters of Italy yielded the crown to Raphael. This opinion of the high claims of Raphael was not that of the sculptor Bernini, the Aristarchus of Roman society. But on his death, after a long reign, in 1680, the way was opened to a revision of his decrees, and Carlo Maratta became the hierophant of a Raphaelite revival. The President of the Academy of St. Luke, with the countenance of the Pope, displayed his devotion to the memory of the Urbinate by a restoration of the frescoes in the Stanze more serious than had been the tentative efforts of Sebastian del Piombo.

North of the Alps the flame of Raphael long burned steadily in France. By 1607 the French artistic public was large enough to warrant

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Carl Justi's *Velasquez*.

the publication of a French translation of Vasari's life of the Master, wherein Poussin found some of the inspiration that took him to Italy to study the works of the Roman school. The influence of these, as conveyed by engravings from preliminary sketches, was potent over Le Sueur, who earned the epithet of the French Raphael. Though, according to Voltaire, the latter was in France less esteemed than Lebrun, the taste for the Italian style grew to be enough pronounced for Louis XIV. to found a French academy in Rome. Its pupils naturally turned for instruction in monumental art to the frescoes in the Stanze, and thither they resorted until the Pope excluded them from the chambers of the Vatican. At this period also the publication of Dorigny's engravings did not a little to enhance the influence of Raphael.

In the eighteenth century the efforts of the archæologist Winckelmann, and of his associate Raphael Mengs, contributed much towards placing Raphael on a throne to which, in Italy, his right has since remained unquestioned. The young German artists then in Rome were warmed by the fire of Mengs' enthusiasm. What the "silent penetrative loveliness" of Raphael's Madonnas had won only in part was

established by Winckelmann's word of might. Germans at home at that period took their opinions largely from such a master as Boucher, who preferred Guido Reni to Raphael, and declared that the latter was a *peintre bien triste*. But among those to whom Winckelmann's views were as a new gospel was the father of Johann Wolfgang Goethe. So much archæological zeal possessed him that he was credited with the remark, "Whoever had once seen Rome could never again be quite unhappy." As the father thought like this, it is not surprising that the mind of the great Johann Wolfgang was early led into artistic channels. In his youth he visited Dresden, but seems to have been moved rather by the examples he saw of the Netherlands school than by the chief treasure of the Dresden gallery, the Sistine Madonna. Later on he passed beyond the Alps, where the *genius loci* led him captive. Besides laurels and lemon trees, and ancient marbles in old palaces, the singer of "Kennst du das Land" studied the pictures of the Old Masters. In the course of his "Italienische Reise" he found himself in October, 1786, in the Bologna Gallery in front of Raphael's "St. Cecilia," which he rated above the then admired and declamatory



productions of Guido, Domenichino, and the Caracci. In respect to these works he declares that "Religion raised the arts again to a great pitch until superstition became dominant over them, and brought them to the ground once more"; an opinion that Ruskin would have received without demur. At the same time his commendation of Raphael's style wears a judicial air, for he declares that, though Raphael had attained to what others vainly wished to accomplish, he was not to be regarded as a god, as a "Melchizedek without father or mother, and without descent." He had masters and predecessors whom, in order to a right understanding of his eminence, it was necessary to study. This notion of development in art was then still something novel. In it speaks the scientific element in the poet who revolved so deeply the problems of colour and plant growth. In Rome, however, he was overpowered by the Sistine frescoes of Michelangelo, those "prelibations, foretastes high" of a heroic race yet to come. He who wrote of the "Ewig-Weibliche," and of the marriage of Faust and Helena, that is to say, of Teutonic strength and southern grace, was masculine in his temperament, and more likely found a kindred spirit rather in the forceful Florentine than in the

delicate genius of Raphael. Thus when in later years the Romanticism of Germany produced a devotion that converted Raphael into a myth of feminine feeling almost saintly, and the study of his works into a kind of religious cult, Goethe stood aside, smiling, perhaps, to himself at this artificial mediævalism of young Germany, which last, like a modern Tannhäuser, had escaped from the pagan and classical enthusiasms of revolutionary France to seek in Catholic Rome a healing gospel. Frederick Overbeck, Veit, Joseph Führich, Edward Steinle, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Cornelius, and Schadow composed the band of "Nazarenes" that came to discover fresh springs in the southern land, long arid with artistic conventionalism.

These new disciples sat to one another for their studies of drapery after the fashion of the youthful Raphael and his fellow apprentices in Perugino's workshop. Overbeck, who devoted himself to the imitation of Raphael's Madonnas, refused out of modesty to study from the female model. Reconstituting, as they thought, the claims of religion, they naturally chose for imitation rather the earlier Raphael, the artist whose affinities were Francian and Umbrian, than the author of the

later grandiose frescoes of the Stanze. On the literary side they perpetrated sentimental novels on the subject of Raphael, in which he would have found it difficult to recognise himself. These "Nazarenes" of art, like other schools, had their day and passed out of fashion. It should, however, be counted to them for righteousness that they wished to make art serve the multitude, it being part of their factitious creed that art should not merely gratify a patron, even though he were an enlightened Mæcenas, but should be used for the "ennoblement and glorification of public life." Hence their interest in fresco painting. Incidentally their propaganda contributed to make Raphael's style and rank a subject of general European interest, and did much to inspire the informing labours of men like Bunsen, C. F. von Rumohr, and Passavant.

French art in the eighteenth century went much on national lines, and was little affected by the Raphael tradition which Rosso, and the more graceful Primaticcio, had imported when they worked in the sixteenth century at Fontainebleau, under the "humane great monarch's golden look." But deep was the impression on the younger French painters and students when the victories of Napoleon made Paris

the receptacle of the treasures of Italian art, and when the conqueror's design to make Paris the Athens of Europe, as well as its political centre, was for a time accomplished. There were then to be seen together works by Raphael from Italy and Spain, which, added to those already in the Louvre, enabled a more adequate judgment to be formed as to his style and excellence. The sight of them confirmed the taste of Ingres, so long a potent influence in French art. When but a boy of twelve he had seen in Toulouse a copy of the "Madonna della Sedia," and the sight of it left with him a lasting admiration. In portraiture even, though he rated highly the style of Holbein, he claimed superiority for Raphael. When David abandoned his attempts at the trivial prettiness of Boucher, and the more than prettiness of Watteau, he sought inspiration in the remote age of the Augustan Empire. Ingres, on the other hand, re-established for art the importance of the early sixteenth-century schools, and raised to a higher level the hitherto vaguer arguments on the style of Raphael. The art of the painter of the "Oath of Consecration by Louis XIII.," of the fine portrait of Mme. Devauçay, of "Raphael Betrothed," had some of the qualities of artistic good breeding of that

exemplar, whom he described as a "heaven-descended" spirit which "radiated beauty to all nations." When in 1834 he became Director of the French Academy in Rome, his official influence helped further to increase the cult of the Master he revered. His pupil, Hippolyte Flandrin, shared his ideas, and the tradition of Raphaellesque grace and serenity they did much to establish has never wholly departed from French art. Though much is taken, much abides. New schools have arisen in France, schools of pictorial realism, impressionism, research for absolute values, and have boasted themselves the chosen wardens of the Grail. But the authority of the masters of the Cinque Cento has not been left wholly undefended. One feels instinctively that in the dignity and earnestness of the monumental work of M. Puvis de Chavannes is an echo of the spirit that inspired the frescoes of the Segnatura and the Sibyls of Sta. Maria della Pace.

On this side of the Channel the history of art begins later, and the share of Raphael is more episodic. Something considerable must be allowed for the effect of the seven cartoons for the Sistine tapestries, preserved by Cromwell's intervention from the iconoclasm

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of Parliament. By the time they were housed at Hampton Court, during the surveyorship of Sir Christopher Wren, the interest in them had become general. In the early part of the eighteenth century the French engraver Dorigny was employed to copy them, the expense being defrayed by a national subscription. It was, too, at this time that Jonathan Richardson published his *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, in which the cartoons were singled out as the greatest achievement of the Roman school. By Richardson's work Sir Joshua Reynolds was inspired with much of his early enthusiasm for art and the work of Raphael. In the course of his residence in Rome he studied the frescoes in the Stanze, and to the chilly air of the Vatican Galleries he owed probably the deafness that afflicted him. While he spent two years in Rome, in "measureless content," he was commissioned to copy the "School of Athens." He executed the copy in a spirit of burlesque, taking the heads from those of prominent Englishmen then in Rome, from which one surmises that he had no great relish for the art of the frescoes. He shared, in fact, in the fashionable admiration for the works of Domenichino and Guercino, and was in particular subjugated by the force and tech-

nique of Michelangelo. The votaries of the Quattrocentistic art were then few indeed ; and Reynolds was not among them.

“Never,” he says, “did Raphael quite rise above the dryness and pettiness of conception he inherited from Perugino. When he painted in oils, his hand seemed to grasp the brush convulsively, thus detracting from the spirit and lightness of the work. Indeed, he did not even preserve that correctness of form in his easel pictures which we admire in his frescoes.” In the age of Hogarth and Reynolds, with whom the history of English painting begins, the general taste required genre and portraiture, the careful record of the form and pressure of the time. About the only examples London had to show of the application of monumental art were Sir James Thornhill’s grisailles in St. Paul’s Cathedral, which treated events in the life of that Apostle, and were perhaps inspired by Raphael’s cartoons.<sup>1</sup> More might have been done later on to vindicate in England the claims of this branch of painting if George III. and Sir Joshua could have had their way in regard to the internal decoration of the

<sup>1</sup> Of these he made two copies, having obtained the necessary permission through the good offices of Lord Halifax.

cathedral. But Protestant bigotry in the person of Bishop Terrick proved too strong, and the frescoes of Thornhill, never but dimly seen, were left by themselves to fade well-nigh into invisibility. Strange inconsequence of Protestantism, which, while it frowned on painting, smiled on the sister art of sculpture, and welcomed her into sacred buildings, whether in the form of more or less animated bust, or stilted whole-length, not rejecting even such pagan emblems as inverted torches, broken columns, or cinerary urns. In the flattering guise of portraiture British art received in the council-chamber the freedom of the city, but its exclusion from the service of the Church meant the lack of a powerful stimulus to the practice of the artist's imaginative and inventive faculties. In Italy the alliance of priest and painter had done not a little to keep art on a level of high seriousness, until the Renaissance brought into fashion the cult of the "humaner letters" and the subjects of classical art, at which time painting tended to lose its general interest, and to become the toy of the small circle of wealthy connoisseurship.

British art, derived by inheritance from the Dutch, from the portrait-painting of Van Dyke,



Lely, and Kneller, had little affinity to the stately, and sometimes pompous, character of the art of the Renaissance. If the connoisseurs that then dabbled in the business of giving laws to the native artist professed admiration for the works of Italian schools, they preferred the rich colouring of the Venetians, or the heavy chiaroscuro of the Bolognese. And the value of their encouragement of art was impaired by their adherence to the idea of fixed laws of composition. Of this, Sir George Beaumont was an instance. He demanded the presence in every landscape of at least one brown tree, and in every picture of three lights. "I see," he said, looking at a picture by Constable, "your first and your second lights, but I can't make out which is your third."<sup>1</sup> It was the Correggiosity, the pedantry of people like this that so stirred to wrath the soul of the mystic and imaginative Blake, whom it is well here to mention, inasmuch as he was fiercely opposed to the reigning mode of admiration for the Venetian and Flemish masters, along with whom he quaintly censured Correggio as a "soft, and effeminate, and consequently a most

<sup>1</sup> Constable told this to Turner, who said, "You should have asked him how many lights Rubens introduced."

cruel demon." "The eye that can prefer the colour of Titian and Rubens to that of Michelangelo and Raphael ought to be modest, and to doubt its own powers," says Blake in one place; and in another, "The quarrel of the Florentine with the Venetian is not because he does not understand drawing, but because he does not understand colouring . . . How should he who does not know how to draw a hand or a foot know how to colour it . . . Until we get rid of Titian, and Correggio, Rubens, and Rembrandt, we never shall equal Rafael and Albert Dürer, Michelangelo and Julio Romano." These remarks come from a "Descriptive Catalogue of pictures, poetical and historical inventions by William Blake in water colours, being the ancient method of fresco painting restored . . . London, 1809": a monograph, in which, by the way, he also denounced the use of oil-colours with a vigour that would have gained the entire assent of Michelangelo. Blake himself thought and dreamed in line, and it is easy to understand how he revelled in the strength of Michelangelo, and the sure but delicate definition of Raphael. It would almost seem as if he found a moral sanction in the use of line which he would deny to the art that deals in effects of

light and shade and tone. His assertion of the excellence of the colouring of the Florentine school as compared with that of the Venetian was not so peculiar to him as it seems. When Paul Veronese visited Rome he studied the frescoes of the Vatican for their colour, and was thought to have derived from Raphael a fondness for shot or changeable draperies. In the time of Blake it was customary to speak of colour as a merely sensuous element in art, as a merely ornamental quality, while form, and light and shadow addressed themselves directly to the mind: ideas little in harmony with later theories. For Blake to push his opinion of the superexcellence of line to the extent of banning the clothing of form in shadows and tones was an eccentricity, related, perhaps, to his ungratified bent for fresco and his dislike of oil. Until the question came up of the internal decoration of the new Houses of Parliament, the mural grand style was not cultivated in England. And before the attempt to revive it by Ford Madox Brown in his civic pictorial history at Manchester English art went through the phase denoted by the word "pre-Raphaelite." The connection of this much-used word with the work of Raphael was not so close as at first sight might be

supposed. According to Ruskin, the life of Raphael fell within the period during which the art of Italy lost its spiritual content and became a conventional, unfeeling thing of technical ambition masked in the service of a hollow religiosity: a judgment which, so far as Raphael is concerned, is pertinent to the later compositions for which he stood sponsor rather than executed. "The iridescence of dying statesmanship in Italy," says Ruskin, "her magnificence of hollow piety were represented in the arts of Venice and Florence by two mighty men on either side, Titian and Tintoret, Michael Angelo and Raphael."

In this passage from the "Relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoret," Ruskin sums up his idea of the course of sixteenth-century art in Italy. It was surely unfortunate that the reaction from lifeless traditions and "brown sauce" academicism towards an earnest study of nature and the zealous rendering of detail should be known by the inept word "Pre-Raphaelitism," and that the painter of the "Knight's Dream," the "Sposalizio," the Florentine series of Madonnas, and the frescoes in the Segnatura, should suffer such a thoughtless misuse of his name. But youth is prone to prejudice and impatience, and Mr.

Ruskin, lately the eloquent advocate of the impressionism of Turner, was at hand ready to cry "Hosanna!" at the opposite course about to be pursued by English art.

In his *Pre-Raphaelitism*<sup>1</sup> he says, "We begin in all probability by telling a youth of 15 or 16 that Nature is full of faults, that he is to improve her; but that Raphael is perfection, and that the more he copies Raphael, the better: that after much copying of Raphael he is to try what he can do himself in the Raphaelesque but yet original manner: that is to say, he is to try to do something very clever all out of his own head, but yet this clever something is to be properly subjected to Raphaelesque rules, is to have a principal light occupying one-seventh of its space, and a principal shadow occupying one-third of the same; that no two people's heads in the picture are to be turned the same way, and that all the personages represented are to possess ideal beauty of the highest order, which ideal beauty consists partly in a Greek outline of nose, partly in a proportion expressible in decimal fractions between the lips and chin; but mostly in that degree of improvement which the youth of 16 is to bestow upon

<sup>1</sup> Edition of 1862, pp. 20-1.

God's work in general. This, I say, is the kind of teaching which through various channels, Royal Academy lecturings, press criticisms, public enthusiasm, and not least by the solid weight of gold, we give to our young men." It would be interesting to know where Ruskin got the above arithmetic of the studio. It seems no better founded than his charge against the artificiality of the pose of Raphael's heads. However, the fervour of Ruskin does not flow long without qualification. "The Pre-Raphaelites," he says, "imitate no pictures: they paint from nature only. But they have opposed themselves as a body to that kind of teaching above described, which only began after Raphael's time." A good reason for abandoning the word "Pre-Raphaelite" as soon as it was invented. Similarly with the hastiness that pronounced the Renaissance schools ruled by indolence, infidelity, and "shallow pride." Consider the Titanic energy of Michelangelo, the painstaking adaptability of Raphael, and the accusation falls to the ground. If Ruskin uses infidelity in its theological sense, it should be remembered that there is little to be alleged with probability against the simple devoutness Raphael learned as a child among the pious folk of the Umbrian

mountains. Even so late as the time of Georgio Vasari, that Boswell of painters, it is related, did not omit his prayer before beginning a fresco. If Ruskin by "infidelity" means the ignoring of restraints, the habit of callous and useless anatomising, he is on stronger ground. The tearing of dead bodies with the surgeon's scalpel was agreeable to the intellectual passion of a Pollaiuolo or Leonardo. That it was of any real service to Raphael is most questionable. The representation of pain was not congenial to his art, as appears from the unconvincingness of the "Entombment," the "Massacre of the Innocents," the "Spasimo di Sicilia."

But on this matter of "Pre-Raphaelitism, more enlightening than the fine writing of the critic are the few words of description used by Millais, according to whom the aim of himself and his associates was to "present on canvas what they saw in nature." How they saw nature steadily, and saw it in parts, is apparent in the painstaking detail of the "Childhood of Jesus," which was the *pièce justificative* of the new method of the youthful brotherhood. Since then artistic realism has pushed further. The Pre-Raphaelite exactness of 1850 is little less removed from the tedious correctness of Tissot's views in

Palestine than the classically draped Apostles of Raphael's cartoons.

However, the Pre-Raphaelitism of the fifties has come and gone. The flowers it plucked in the meadows of old romance lost their strangeness, and, with it, much of their perfume. The genius of Millais did not remain confined within the bounds of the earnest literalism of such a work as the "Childhood of Jesus." And the art of dreamy fantasy, introduced by the poetry as much as by the painting of the gifted Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and continued by Sir E. Burne-Jones, can hardly be ranged under the same banner as that to which the author of the "Scapegoat" and the "Light of the World" has remained faithful. While this was the varied course of English art, a whole sky apart from it grew up the French modern schools of "plein air" painting, "ensemble painting," and of "impressionism" in its dot or dash variety. Fervid with this new wine the men of the eighties came back from Paris eager to overthrow, as with the sound of a trumpet, the walls of the Royal Academy, and to rout the practitioners in Holland Park classic. But it is now discovered that the last word has not been said, though the eirenicon that



prevails is one born rather of general uncertainty and weariness than the fruitful peace that springs from principles accepted and developing.

The fame of Raphael long rested on his representations of the Madonna, and "schön wie eine Madonna von Raphael" became a proverb. His long series of pictures on this theme, some coldly conventional, others insipid, others with the beauty that is like a "hand laid softly on the soul," will, along with his portraits, be treasured in public galleries, or prized by rich owners as safe investments. But their vogue will hardly recur in its former intensity. The present sophisticated age demands subtilty of expression more than the natural piety of maternal love, and finds a Raphael Madonna too placid to be either Our Lady of Sorrows or Our Lady of Joy. It prefers the "side-long. implicating eyes" of a Mona Lisa, or the thought-bound brows of a Botticelli Madonna. Yet it was a fine thing in Raphael to keep the merely official splendours out of his presentment of the Queen of Heaven, to draw her down from the skies, and present her divinity as latent in the tenderness of the human mother. In the secular and museum-like atmosphere of the picture-gallery, while

an ecclesiastical painting is preserved from injury, its spiritual relation to Christian worship and devotion is with difficulty kept in mind. Fortunately, in the case of the fresco, its intimate connection with the wall of the building, and the absence of a distinct frame, make it easier to view it in due subordination. Observed in the land and the building wherein it came to be, it can with less effort of the imagination be seen "just in its place," and be recognised as an expression of the life and art of its period. This consideration applies to the frescoes in the Stanze of the Vatican. To those in the Segnatura in particular belongs further the stamp of the strenuous youth of the painter, if he can be said to have been young who did not live to be old, and who, like Purcell, Mozart, Mendelssohn, or Bizet, died at an age when other artists are entering into their kingdom of conscious mastery. In that one chamber can be traced his swift development from the "Disputa," with its almost timidly traditional disposition and character, to the assured ease and dignified composition of the "School of Athens." Some day, perhaps, with the steady extension of the powers and activity of civic authorities, will be heard a demand that municipal buildings should

be decorated in a manner appropriate to their enhanced public estimation. Then may be expected a renewed study of Raphael's practice of the mural art.

To the taste of the student the churches of the Italian Renaissance seem to lack the charm and mystery he finds in the minsters of France or England. Nourished on the eloquence of Ruskin, the august appeal and solemn beat of Dante's verse, the sincerity of pre-Raphaelite, or the visionary gleam of Romantic art, he wanders somewhat disconsolate in grandiose basilicas like St. Peter's, or Sta. Maria Maggiore, and is apt to condemn them straightway as the unfeeling products of a borrowed architecture. But after a while it may happen to him to get works of this kind better into focus, to perceive that their style is not so exotic as he thought, and to learn to estimate their squareness of form and objective character. So in studying Raphael, his aptness of assimilation is seen to pass into a Virgilian grace and dignity all his own. The observer who has been bred on romantic literature and the art closely allied may feel at first the lack of the "glow of spirit, with magic and richness of suggestion" that have been justly stressed as characteristics of the romantic mode of workmanship. But after

a while he will become susceptible to the urbane self-possession of Raphaelesque art, its clearness of definition, and restraint without poverty in the use of colour. And he will further recognise that, though the Master of Urbino borrowed from the antique, he breathed into the forms he took a new vitality in a manner beyond Mantegna's laborious accumulation of classic detail. Mankind, perhaps, have no great reason to be grateful for the introduction into art of Roman standards, bucklers, helmets, fasces, or generalised forms from ancient sculptures. But, as Shakespeare took Romans for his characters, and made them live and move, though not as Romans, so Raphael endued cupids and nymphs with movement and animation. Those beings in the Galatea fresco, when fresh from the brush, might have come from the pages of Virgil or Ovid. They were an idyll of the Theocritean shore, where murmurs the "blue Sicilian sea," possessing the studied grace and ease demanded by a cultivated age.

Parts of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanze have been censured as ill-drawn, and the later ones seem to lack serious intention. But seen from some distance, as mural work is intended to be seen, the "play, the insight, and the

stretch" of his composition, along with his gift of animated narration, fail not of their effect. Diverse and difficult branches of art had to be mastered by the successors of Giotto before the problems of composition, modelling, movement, and perspective could be handled with success. Into the fruit of their labours Raphael was, by the grace of God, permitted to enter. If those that followed in his steps were less gifted with his spirit, and produced much that was still-born and charmless, it is not just to charge on his genius the artistic nullity of a weaker posterity.

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